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MEMOIRS

OF

THE PUTHAN SOLDIER OF FORTUNE

THE

NUWAB AMEER-OOD-DOULAH

MOHUMMUD AMEER KHAN,

CHIEF OF

SERONJ, TONK, RAMPOORA, NEEMAHERA,

AND OTHER PLACES IN

HINDOOSTAN.

COMPILED IN PERSIAN BY

BUSAWUN LAL,

NAEEB-MOONSHEE TO THE NUWAB.

CALCUTTA:

G. H. HUTTMANN, MILITARY ORPHAN PRESS.

1832.

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PREFACE.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK, Governor General of British India, determined to visit Ajmeer in the early part of the year 1832, and invited thither to meet him all the principal Rajas and Chiefs of Rajisthan. Amongst the earliest who presented themselves, was the celebrated leader of Puthan freebooters, the Nuwab Ameer-ood-Doula Mohummud Ameer Khan. He came from Tonk, a possession wrested from the Jypoor Raj by the Holkur branch of the Mahratta power, and obtained by the Puthan from Juswunt Rao in the settlement made between the two chiefs, after the conclusion of the Mahratta War of 1803–6. This place, with Rampoora, and some territory surrounding, were secured to Ameer Khan in the treaty concluded with him by the Marquess of Hastings in 1818, and has since become his principal place of residence. He holds also Seronj in Malwa, Neemahera, Perawa, and some other pergunas in Mewar, and is the lord of an

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independent territory, yielding altogether from twelve to fifteen lakhs of rupees.

The manners, the appearance, and every thing about the Moosulman soldier of fortune, were in perfect contrast with the hereditary princes of Rajisthan,—the slaves of forms and ceremonious etiquette, whose lives are passed within palace walls, in the search of selfish, sensual enjoyments, diversified with occasions of ostentatious display to gratify a pompous ignorant pride. The Puthan came to the door of the audience-tent very plainly dressed, and with no display of state. He rode in a common open palkee, with one or two of his sons and principal officers on horse-back alongside, and with altogether not more than twenty attendants. The high polish of the Courts of Dehlee and Lukhnou was, of course, not to be looked for in the manners of a man who had raised himself from nothing: but the roughness of the soldier was tempered with the easy good breeding of the man of the world, and the impression made by Ameer Khan's first address, was highly favourable. In conversation he was frank, affable, and lively, fond of anecdote, and ready in repartee. He greeted every body he knew before, personally, or by character, with a good humoured profession of joyful recognition, and with the ease of a man

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accustomed to deal with strangers, and with people of all characters and professions. At the interview with the Governor General he was himself every thing, his sons and surdars sat as mute listeners, and his vukeels and ministers had no call, and no opportunity to thrust in a word.

Ameer Khan is a stout-built, hale-looking man for his years, whereof he numbers no less than sixty-five. He is rather under the middle height of Europe, and his countenance is decidedly Jewish. His features are capable of all expressions, and are lighted up sometimes with much animation, but a stranger, whom it might not be his study to please, would be able to detect, on close observation, many traits and expressions of very sinister boding. There is enough in the pages which follow to prove that he must be the most finished actor and dissembler in India, and perhaps in the world.

The interview of Ameer Khan with Lord William Bentinck was extended to much beyond the usual length. The conversation never flagged, but was full of anecdote and repartee on the Ameer's part; and it was evident that he took delight in recurring to the stirring scenes in which his past life had been spent. He answered without any reserve all

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questions put to him on the subject of his exploits, acknowledging freely his errors and failures, and not taking any pains to gloss over the motives of those of his actions, which were of most ambiguous morality. In the course of this interview, the Puthan chief, perceiving that his details were listened to with eager curiosity, stated, that he had caused a book to be written of his adventures; and he offered to send a copy to the gentleman who officiated as the medium of conversation. The offer was, under the Governor General's sanction, thankfully accepted, and the book, when sent afterwards, appearing on a cursory inspection to be written with spirit, and to partake of the same style of graphic anecdote, which characterized the chief's conversation, a few chapters were translated as specimens at moments of leisure. The whole was completed in the shape in which it is presented, during a voyage down the Jumna, from Agra to Allahabad.

The Translator's office is but an humble one to assume before the world. It has been taken up in this instance partly for amusement, and from being drawn into it by degrees; but mainly from the conviction, that a Memoir of this kind cannot fail to prove a valuable addition to the records which exist of Indian history. Of many facts of first-rate importance, it affords the very

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best evidence, that of the principal actor or perpetrator, while there is much in the work besides to gratify mere curiosity; and to those who take an interest in the conduct and motives, the character and habits of life, of the men who figure prominently on the historic page of India, the book will have the recommendation of lifting the veil with a reckless ingenuousness, that would, in many instances, be startling to credulity, were the tales told of any, but the actual narrator. Some allowance must be made for a little egotism and gasconade in a veteran of no education, surrounded by those who delight to uphold him as the champion of the faith, and the hero of his age and nation. The model of Roostum and Asfendiar, the heroes of Persian romance, appears to have been ever present to the too poetic imagination of the Compiler: but with all the defects incident to this spirit of exaggeration, when the feats and personal prowess of the Ameer are under relation, the history cannot be charged as unfaithful: for there is never any attempt to represent as a victory, what was in fact a defeat. The single arm of the Ameer always performs prodigies, whether victory or defeat follow; and if the former, every thing else of course sinks into the shade, and our hero has the whole glory: on the other hand, some blunder of others, or some untoward accident, and freak of fortune is always put

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forward to account for a discomfiture. What else could be expected in the Memoir of a living chief?

Ameer Khan is not, as was the Emperor Baber, a scholar, as well as a soldier. The present work, therefore, cannot be regarded as an equally complete piece of auto-biography, with the volume lately presented to the European world, with so much advantage, by Mr. Erskine. The compilation has, however, been made under the chief's dictation, and is executed by his Moonshee; and the personal adventures are told with such circumstance of time and place, as to bear intrinsic evidence of the quarter whence the story has emanated. The book is the adopted, if not the real, offspring of the hero of the tale. It was presented by the Ameer as his own history of his own life, and the relation in which the author stood, and still stands, towards him, fully warranted his so representing it. The Memoir is consequently, as complete a piece of auto-biography, as it is possible to have of an uneducated chief like Ameer Khan. The style and book-making attributes it possesses, are all that he is not responsible for.

Now, if there is any one branch of Indian History in which our materials are defective, it is this—we want the lion sculptors. Whenever

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any extensive operation is undertaken by the British Government in India, there are not wanting ambitious officers, both Civil and Military, to explain to the public all that is done, and to set forth the motives and views of those who have regulated the movement. If these are misrepresented, or if they are open to cavil, there is the periodical press, and there are, as there ever have been, public men to move in Parliament, and elsewhere, for all papers relating to the occurrences. These are given forth from the official printing presses, in masses to overwhelm the greatest glutton of an enquirer, and when the interest of the day ceases, they are consigned to the shelves of curious collectors, to be ransacked by ingenious cavillers of time to come. But all these publications—all this printed correspondence, is on one side. We have no spies in the enemy's camp, nor any bulletins, manifestos, and state papers, through which we may learn, at first hand, what is passing amongst, and what is thought by our enemies. We conquer and take the country, and make out our own case before the world. Those we combat with are dumb, or silent. Every thing is represented *couleur de rose* for European valour, European skill, and energy, and moderation, and integrity, and whatever other virtues the narrators may choose to claim for their compatriots. Very seldom is any voice heard on the

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other side, or if a still small cry is raised, it speaks to our countrymen in England in an unknown tongue. It is singular to remark, that since European actors first appeared in the field as competitors for empire in India, there should be but one native account of the transactions in which they were engaged, that is known even by name to the general reader—that is, the *Seeri Mootakhureen*, written and translated in the days of Warren Hastings, fifty years ago: and although the interest with which this book is still sought and read, might have been expected to call forth many similar; and assuredly, had the originals existed, would have insured their early translation, yet the interval from that time to the present is blank, and presents no similar record of any credit or repute, or that is known at all in Europe, as the production of a native of India.

Of this much desiderated class of works, the present volume is thus a rare specimen. It is also an extremely favorable one, as compared with any that have fallen under the translator's perusal, in the course of a service in India of more than twenty-two years. Its claim to the indulgence, and to the approbation of the European reader, must be judged with some reference to this criterion, but the rarity of the class to which it belongs, is reason abundant for not

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withholding it; and for the same cause it is evidently necessary, that it should be presented as nearly as possible in its original shape.

It needs not to be disguised, that other advantages are contemplated from the publication of Ameer Khan's Memoirs, in the exact form in which he has himself chosen that they should appear. The Puthan is a witness to the status of Central India, before the British Government stood forth in its supremacy to establish order, whose evidence must satisfy the most fastidious detractor from the merit of that course of policy. If, in the whole of this Memoir, partial as it is to its hero, and to the cause of freebooting independence, and inimical in spirit necessarily to European policy, there be found a single circumstance, or an argument, or a representation of the state of things, prevailing at any time, in any place, under any Native ruler, in the days of independence, non-interference and anarchy, that can be cited against the wisdom of the determination to subject the whole tract to British rule—then will the admirers of that policy, and the advocates of the principle, that the public peace ought to be the great aim of all our political measures in India, consent to be set down as dolts and drivellers, insensible to liberal and enlightened feelings, and to all regard for

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national independence, and seeking the indulgence of a meddling, self-aggrandizing policy, in the extinguishment of existing institutions and forms of society. The theme, however, is a wide one, requiring a volume for its discussion. It is merely designed to point out, that the Memoirs of the great Puthan freebooter possess a high value in their bearing on this particular question.

A word or two will be expected, in regard to the style of the compilation, and its author. In a short, but very flowery Preface, the compiler states his name to be Busawun Lāl, the son of Tun-sook Raee, a Kayth by caste, and native of Belgram in Oudh, but for the last twelve years in the service of the Nuwab Ameer Khan, in the capacity of Naeeb Moonshee, (Deputy Secretary), under Raee Data Ram. The encouragement and urgent intreaty of the Ameer's eldest son, the Nuwab Vuzeer-ood-Doula Mohummud Vuzeer Khan, a young man of considerable literary attainments, added to the command of the Ameer himself, are stated to be the motives for his undertaking the compilation. Though designed to record only the adventures and exploits of the Ameer, the proper explanation of these, with the motives of action, and the effect of his measures, has necessarily led to much reference to other Chiefs,

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and to the introduction of matters of general history, with which, in the course of his eventful life, the Puthan Chief became connected. For such digressions the compiler makes an apology, which the reader will be far from thinking necessary: His patience will be more likely to be tried by the sudden bursts into verse, in which, at all interesting points, the Moonshee indulges. It is a misfortune, that he has acquired a facility of putting his prose into rhyme and metre, and has in consequence taken to himself the Tukhulloos, or poetical name of Shâdân, (the merry), to justify which his narrative is interspersed with these frequent outbreakings. If ever verse deserved the name of prose run mad, the poet Shâdân has the merit of producing such. Though laughable in itself, the translator has had much trouble in dealing with it. To have omitted the verse entirely, would have involved, in some passages, the loss of part of the narrative. To have translated it into prose, would have been to exhibit it in a more ludicrous shape than it bears in the Persian, for the rhyme and rythm cover there the sins of much absurdity. Thus, in order to preserve the spirit of the original, and to make the narrative read in English something like the Persian, the translator has felt compelled to attempt, in most instances, to give verse for verse, omitting only those particular pas-

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sages, which would not admit of an English dress. The translation does not aim to be literal, but to be idiomatic and correct, and to convey in English the spirit and meaning of the original, so far as the peculiarities of the language, into which the matter is rendered, would allow. Some quaintness, and much affectation might have been weeded, if the translator had deemed himself at liberty to consult the taste only of his European readers. It has been thought, however, that the work would be more acceptable if closely rendered, with all its faults and follies, than if mutilated, and re-manufactured, by the rule and square of modern European book-making.

HENRY T. PRINSEP.

Calcutta, May, 1832.

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CONTENTS.

BOOK THE FIRST.

CONTAINING THE EARLY ADVENTURES OF THE AMEER, TO THE DATE OF HIS ALLIANCE WITH JUSWUNT RAO HOLKUR.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

Introduction—Origin of the Afghans—their History to Salar Zye, from whom the Ameer is descended—of the coming of the Ameer's Ancestors to Hindoostan—his birth and boyhood, ... 1

CHAPTER II.

The Ameer takes leave of his father, and goes with his consent to seek his fortunes—his arrival in Gujrat, ... 13

CHAPTER III.

The Ameer at Bhopal—state of parties there, ... 20

CHAPTER IV.

The Ameer unites with Raja Jysingh and Doorjun Sal, Keechhees, of Raghoogurh, who had taken to a life of plunder in Malwa—their affairs being restored—the Ameer remains for a time with Bala Rao, and then returns to Bhopal, ... 30

BOOK THE SECOND.

SKETCH OF THE RISE AND CONDITION OF THE MAHRATTA POWER, IN EXPLANATION OF THE STATE OF PARTIESAT THE PERIOD OF THE AMEER'S CONNEXION THEREWITH.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory—Origin of the Mahratta Power—Its Rise and Progress in Hindoostan to the battle of Paneeput, ... 50

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CHAPTER II.

PAGE

Mahratta History continued, from the Battle of Paneeput to the Assassination of Narayun Rao Peshwa, ... 64

CHAPTER III.

Mahratta History continued—state of parties after the death of Nurayun Rao—Rughoonath deposed—Mahajee Sindheea's history to the death of Gholam Kadir, ... 71

CHAPTER IV.

Conclusion of the Sketch of Mahratta History to the seizure of Juswunt Rao Holkur—and his imprisonment at Nagpoor, 84

BOOK THE THIRD.

THE AMEER'S CONNEXION WITH JUSWUNT RAO HOLKUR—AND THE RISE OF THE FORTUNES OF THAT CHIEF.

CHAPTER I.

Meeting of Muharaj Juswunt Rao Holkur with the Ameer—their first adventures and enterprises, to the taking of Muheshur, ... 92

CHAPTER II.

Muharaj Holkur's adventures and enterprises continued in union with the Ameer up to the first separation of their forces, ... 103

CHAPTER III.

Separation of the Muharaj and Ameer—the former goes to Soondhwara and levies tribute on Kota—the Ameer marches to Seronj—attacks Sagur—defeats and besieges the Raja, who applies to Nagpoor for succour—Defeat of the Ameer, 112

CHAPTER IV.

Mahajee Sindheea's family dissatisfied with Doulut Rao—come to Oojein, and are circumvented and plundered by Muharaj Holkur—they join Lukhwa Dada at Cheetoor, who defeats the Ameer's army while he is away—Lukhwa is in return driven into Shujaelpoor by the Holkur forces—joined by Ambajee—He escapes and flies to Dutteea—the further pursuit of him given up, ... 126

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BOOK THE FOURTH.

WAR BETWEEN HOLKUR AND SINDHEEA—OPERATIONS IN HINDOOSTAN AND THE DUKHUN, TO THE TAKING OF POONA BY JUSWUNT RAO.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

Doulut Rao sends an army against Holkur under command of Bulwunt Rao Batkura and Major George Hessing—it is defeated, ... 134

CHAPTER II.

Doulut Rao Sindheea detaches a large force under Surjee Rao Ghatkia and Sudasheeo Rao against Muharaj Holkur—battle of Indor—Muharaj Holkur defeated, ... 139

CHAPTER III.

Muharaj Holkur proceeds to Chandor, and the Ameer towards Doulutabad by the way of Oosur and Jalna—falls in with Sudasheeo Rao, Sindheea's General—affair at Alee Khundee—the Ameer avoids a battle and retires before the enemy, but is attacked and suffers defeat, ... 152

CHAPTER IV.

March of Muharaj Holkur with the Ameer towards Poona to attack the army of Doulut Rao Sindheea—union of Bajee Rao Peshwa with Doulut Rao, and defeat of their joint forces by Juswunt Rao Holkur and the Ameer—the Peshwa retreats to Mark in the Konkan—the Ameer's pursuit thither—the Peshwa's flight from Mark to Sevan-Droog on the sea shore—the Ameer's attack of that place, and the Peshwa's flight to Bombay, the English settlement, in a boat, to ask the aid of that nation, leaving all his followers at Sevan-Droog, whence they were carried back to Poona by the Ameer, ... 161

CHAPTER V.

The Ameer proceeds against Merich, while the Muharaj marches to Aurungabad and levies contributions—the Ameer summoned thither—proceeds to Aurungabad—the Muharaj marches to Chandôr — the Ameer's negociations with Moosheer-ool-Moolk—joins the Muharaj at Chandôr, ... 182

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BOOK THE FIFTH.

WAR OF THE MAHRATTAS WITH THE ENGLISH—FIRST PART.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

Peace between Doulut Rao Sindheea and Muharaj Holkur, with mutual engagements and pledges—the Muharaj and the Ameer proceed to Muheshur—their stay there—Sindheea and the Ghoosla march to the Dukhun—their battles with the English at Phoolkurree and Chouka—the defeat of both, and their separate treaties with the English,.... 190

CHAPTER II.

Muharaj Holkur's departure for Shahpoora, and detachment of his infantry to Mundisor—He proceeds in person to Ajmeer, and sends his family to Joudhpoor, preparatory to entering the field against General Lake—the Ameer's departure for Bundelkhund and defeat of the Goosaeens—He overpowers a British Detachment, and plunders Kalpee,.... 198

CHAPTER III.

General Lake sends Colonel Monson and Lucan against Muharaj Holkur—Holkur engages Lucan, who is killed in action—Monson is defeated and retreats before Holkur, who pursues him to Muthra,.... 212

CHAPTER IV.

Lord Lake marches from Cawnpoor against Muharaj Holkur—arrives at Muthra by the Agra road—marches thence towards Dehlee to attack Holkur's infantry—pursues Holkur thither, who suddenly moves against Futehgurh, and is there defeated by General Lake—returns to Deeg in the Bhurtpoor territory, whither Hurnath Chela had marched with the infantry from Dehlee—defeat of the latter by General Fraser—retires within the walls of the place—General Lake pursues Holkur to Deeg—defeats him there—he retires to Bhurtpoor,.... 222

BOOK THE SIXTH.

MAHRATTA WAR WITH THE ENGLISH—SECOND PART—FROM THE SIEGE OF BHURTPOOR TO THE PEACE WITH JUSWUNT RAO HOLKUR.

CHAPTER I.

Muharaj Holkur retires on Bhurtpoor, which place is besieged by General Lake—the Muharaj sends for the Ameer from

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PAGE

Bhilsa—his departure thence, and arrival at Bhurtpoor—General Lake's first storm before the Ameer reaches the place—its failure—the Ameer joins Holkur—difficulties of the English in the siege—the Ameer engages in two affairs against convoys—expedition proposed to him into the British possessions—undertakes it, ... 232

CHAPTER II.

The Ameer marches towards his Native Country Sunbhul—visits Seer-Kot and other places under the hills of Rohilkhund—affair with General Smith—the Ameer retires in consequence of the desertion of his men with the booty they obtained—his return to Bhurtpoor—occurrences there during his absence—the Raja accepts terms from the English, 250

CHAPTER III.

The Ameer and Muharaj Holkur at Subulgurh—their meeting with Sindheea, and consultation as to the raising of funds—determination to seize Ambajee Inglia, in order to extort money from him—Sindheea is reconciled to the English through Inglia, and shakes off his connexion with Holkur and the Ameer, ... 269

CHAPTER IV.

Muharaj Holkur and the Ameer move to Umritsir—proceedings at Puteeala—transactions with Runjeet Singh—peace concluded by Holkur with the English—the Ameer abandons the Muharaj, but is brought to agree—proceedings afterwards, ... 275

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

WAR OF JYPOOR AND JOUDHPOOR FOR THE OODEEPOOR PRINCESS —THE AMEER'S CONCERN THEREIN.

CHAPTER I.

Muharaj Holkur proceeds to Pookur, near Ajmeer, and sends for his family from Joudhpoor—interview with Man Singh, the Joudhpoor Raja, then on his way to marry the daughter of the Rana of Oodeepoor—the marriage broken off by the Rana upon a quarrel, and the Princess affianced to the Jypoor Raja—War between Joudhpoor and Jypoor in consequence, ... 295

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CHAPTER II.

PAGE

Raja Jugut Singh, with the Ameer in company, moves against Joudhpoor, is opposed by Raja Man Singh on the frontier —the Joudhpoor Thakoors desert the Raja, who is defeated and flies to Joudhpoor—Raja Jugut Singh pursues and invests Joudhpoor, conceives evil suspicions of the Ameer, which lead to a breach of their friendship,..... 311

CHAPTER III.

The Ameer breaks with the Jypoor Court, and receives overtures from Raja Man Singh—retires from Joudhpoor—intrigue with Bapoo Sindheea—is followed by Bukhshee Sheolal—affairs with him—defeat of the Jypoor Detachment—Raja Jugut Singh breaks up from Joudhpoor, and returns for the defence of his Capital,..... 323

CHAPTER IV.

Further mutiny of the Afghan troops—severities practised on the Ameer during his sickness—Raja Man Singh mediates a composition—the Ameer proceeds against Nagor—Siwaee Singh's death—Capture of Nagor, and flight of Dhokul Singh to Bikaneer,..... 345

BOOK THE EIGHTH.

THE AMEER'S PROCEEDINGS IN MALWA AND MEWAR.

CHAPTER I.

The Ameer proceeds against Nagpoor—arrives at Raee Sen, in Bhopal—interview with Vuzeer Mohummud Khan, the Ruler there—discharges the Pindaras for the rains—passes the season at Gurakota, making collections in the neighbourhood—the Rajahs of the vicinity join the Ameer, who attacks Jubulpoor and plunders it—defeats a Nagpoor force—battle with Sidk Ulee Khan, the Nagpoor General, who is shut up in a hill fort—the Nagpoor Raja applies to Hydurabad and to the English for succour—arrival of British and Hydurabad troops—the Ameer finding them in strength, avoids an action—his troops mutiny, and he returns towards the camp of Juswunt Rao Holkur,..... 368

CHAPTER II.

The Ameer surrounds Dhurman Chela and wins over the troops by intrigues—his death effected—the Ameer's march to Kangroulee in Mewar,..... 390

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER III.

PAGE

The Ameer has an interview with Muharana Bheem Singh, of Oodeepoor—settles for his subsidising a brigade, and paying four annas of his revenue—death of the Princess of Oodeepoor—siege of Dumkola—its fall—the Afghans mutiny—march to Jypoor—settlement with the Raja, and siege of Lawa by the brigades of Mookhtar-ood-Doula,..... 398

BOOK THE NINTH.

THE AMEER'S PROCEEDINGS IN JOUDHPOOR AND JYPOOR.

CHAPTER I.

The Ameer's arrival in Joudhpoor and reception by Raja Man Singh—operations of Mookhtar-ood-Doula against a Jypoor Army—the Ameer joins by forced marches—the Jypoor troops driven back—peace and double marriage between Joudhpoor and Jypoor,..... 413

CHAPTER II.

The Ameer receives a letter from Shooja-ool-Moolk of Kabool, asking succour and offering the Mooltan Soobah—is also applied to by the widow of Nuseerkhan, ruler of Balooch and Seestan, offering adoption, and the succession to those countries—the Ameer rejects both offers, finding Mookhtar-ood-Doula averse to the schemes—the Ameer proceeds to the camp of Mulhar Rao Holkur, and returns into the Jypoor country, ... 425

CHAPTER III.

Nuwab Mookhtar-ood-Doula moves from the Jypoor territory to Meertha, in Joudhpoor, to enforce demands against Man Singh—the Ameer goes to Kusoombhee and Lotoo in Beekaneer—Raee Data Ram sent to Joudhpoor to negociate the money demands against that State—Singee Induraj and other Officers of Joudhpoor anxious to get rid of Mookhtar-ood-Doula and his troops from the Joudhpoor territory—their personal objections to the Nuwab—sickness of Mookhtar-ood-Doula reported to the Ameer, who comes over in all haste to Meertha where that Nuwab dies—the Ameer proceeds to Joudhpoor—puts to death Singee Induraj and As-Deonath in the fort, and then returns to Jypoor,..... 430

CHAPTER IV.

The Afghans again mutiny and ill-treat the Ameer—he escapes by stratagem—proceeds to the Shekhawatee country against

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Sham Singh and Ubhye Singh, who had defeated Jumsheed Khan—they retire to a position in hills—the Ameer settles for a composition of three lakhs of rupees with them—proceeds with his brigades against Jypoor—besieges it for one month, and then retires, in order to confer an obligation on Raja Jugut Singh's Ranee, Man Singh's daughter—proceeds next against Joudhpoor, ... 442

CHAPTER V.

The Ameer proceeds into the Joudhpoor territory—disposes his Army to collect the revenues of Jypoor—returns thither after settling affairs in Joudhpoor—lays siege to Madhoorajpoor whither Bharut Singh had carried the family of Mohummud Ayaz Khan—captured by him at Todurlee—collects all his troops to reduce the place, and is nine months employed on the siege, ... 454

BOOK THE TENTH.

CONCLUSION.

PACIFICATION OF INDIA BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

CHAPTER I.

General Donkin advances with an English army through the Jypoor territory—followed by General Ochterlony with another—the Ameer signs a treaty with the English—measures to carry it into effect, ... 462

CHAPTER II.

The battle of Mahedpoor between the British and the army of Holkur—the death of the Baee, widow of Juswunt Rao, by the hand of Huree Holkur, Juswunt Rao's nephew—defeat of the Holkur army, ... 471

CHAPTER THE LAST.

The Ameer's Son proceeds to Dehlee—remains there for a year or more—is presented to the King—returns home—having obtained a Jageer in lieu of the Perguna of Sumbhul, promised to the Ameer during the negociations—rejoins his father at Tonk—his marriage—arrangement to settle the Territory—Conclusion, ... 480

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ERRATA.

PAGE

1—Note, 4th line from the bottom, for "*Moolwukilra*," read "*Moowukilra*."
21—12th line from the bottom, for "*Kureem*," read "*Kurum*."
32—13th line from the bottom, for "*Bhootrasa*," read "*Bhourasa*."
62—3d line from the top, for "*Nujuf Khan*," read "*Nujeeb Khan*."
84—Note, 3d line from the bottom, for "*served*," read "*saved*."
134—Last line but one, for "*Pindarees*," read "*Pindaras*."
140—3d line from the top, for "*all-together*," read "*altogether*."
189—9th line from the top, for "*Vakeels*," read "*Vukeels*."
218—8th line from the bottom, for "*friend*," read "*-doned*."
257—10th line from the bottom, for "*he ascertained however*," read "*still he ascertained*."
275—Last line, for "*Kundela*," read "*Khundela*."
294—3d line from the top, for "*Jyepoor*," read "*Jypoor*."
305—Heading of the page, prefix "A MUTINY"—
312—7th line from the top, for "*Race Chand*," read "*Race Chund*."
336—Heading of the page, for "SHEEONATH," read "SHEEOLAL."
353—10th line, first word, for "*house*," read "*shrine*."
354—12th line from the bottom, for "*Mohammud*," read "*Mohummud*."
358—Transpose the 15th and 16th lines.
377—6th line from the bottom, for "*Kidmutkar*," read "*Khidmutkar*."
408—15th line from the bottom, for "*Gomasta*," read "*Gomashta*."
„ —3d line from ditto, for "*Mahommed*," read "*Mohummud*."
412—9th line from the top, for "*Bandulgurh*," read *Mandulgurh*."
437—4th line from the bottom, for "*set*," read "*sit*."
479—Notice at the end of the Chapter, lines 8 and 9, for "*We shall proceed therefore*," read "*We shall accordingly proceed*."

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BOOK THE FIRST.

CONTAINING THE EARLY ADVENTURES OF THE AMEER, TO THE DATE OF HIS ALLIANCE WITH JUSWUNT RAO HOLKUR.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction—Origin of the Afghans—their History to Salar Zye, from whom the Ameer is descended—of the coming of the Ameer's Ancestors to Hindoostan—his birth and boyhood.

THE Nuwab(1) Ameerood-doula Mohummud Ameer Khan, Buhadoor, was by birth an Afghan; and, as this book is devoted to tracing his history, it may be proper to premise some account of the origin of that tribe, and of his genealogy from first to last. Much of what is here given will be found in other histories, such as, in the Mouluf Mukhzun Afghanee,(2) which is a history at length

(1) نواب امیر الدوله محمد امیر خان بهادر

Some doubt has hitherto been entertained, whether the name of this celebrated Chief was properly Meer Khan or Ameer Khan. This book seems to settle the question. His seal bears the Persian sentence خدا خود میر خانسامان است اسباب موکل را *Khoda khood Meer Khansaman ust asbabi mookwukiira*—God himself is the steward for the goods of him that relies firmly on him. The play of words may have led to the notion, that the Chief's name was Meer Khan.

(2) مولف مخزن افغاني

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of the Lodees and Soorpehs, who arrived at sovereignty in Hindoostan; and in the Tuwareekhi Juhan-kusha, the Mujma Ul-unsab,(1) &c. from all which the substance has been extracted, so far as has appeared necessary for the purpose in hand.

The Afghan tribe claims origin from Mulik Taloot,(2) (Saul) who was a great and good king of the sons of Israel. Thus, in the Koran, it is written—*And their prophet said unto them, "God has sent Taloot to be king over you." And they said, "Verily the dominion over us cannot be to him, for we are more worthy to reign than he, and he hath not the substance wherewith to reign over us." And their prophet said—"Hath not the Lord chosen him to rule over you, and augmented his capacity in knowledge and in all kingly qualities, and know ye not that the Lord giveth dominion to whomso he willeth, and is all powerful and omniscient;"* and, again, in another place—*And God said, "See ye not the tribes of the Sons of Israel after Moses, when they said to their prophet, "Procure for us a king that we may serve him in the way of the Lord,"* &c.(3) The king Taloot here referred to had two sons, one Burheea,(4) and the other Armeea.(5) When king David became king of Israel, in the room of Taloot, he brought up these two sons of his predecessor, and promoted them to high office: and, again, when Mehtur (Prince) Solomon succeeded David, Armeea had a son

(1) تواريخ جهانكشا-مجمع الانساب

(2) ملک طالوت

(3) In the Koran the latter part of this quotation occurs first.—*Vide Sale's Koran, Chapter II.*

(4) برحيا (5) ارميا

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named Afghăna,(1) and Burheea also had a son, who was called Asuf.(2) The latter became Prime Minister of the State, while Afghăna, his cousin, devoted himself to the military profession and commanded its armies. From this last the tribe of Afghans is descended. Their conversion to the faith of the true Prophet happened thus: Khâlid,(3) the son of Wuleed, the companion of the prophet was an Afghān. The majority of historians, indeed, state that Wuleed was of the tribe of Korêsh,(4) but for this reason only, because the grandfather of his mother was Ubd ool-shums,(5) who was a great man in his day—and, therefore, it is presumed, he must have been a Korêsh. It is generally supposed on this ground that he was so, but in reality he was of the tribe of Israel. When the light of the spirit of prophecy fell on the holy head of Mohummud, and thence radiated for the illumination of the world, and when Khâlid became converted to the true faith, multitudes of men came from all quarters of (Ujum) (6) Syria, and their minds were inclined to the same good cause, and they sought a ray from the light of Mohummud to guide them to the true road of faith and salvation. It was then that Khâlid sent a letter to the tribe of Afghans who inhabited the mountains near Ghoor(7) and Mulek Ruda,(8) where they had lived since the days of Bukht Nusur,(9) (Nebuchadnezzar) and the expulsion of the Israelites from Siam,(10) (Judea) informing them of the arrival of a last prophet to instruct the world. The Afghans upon this went, with some of the heads of

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(1) افغنه (2) اصف (3) خالد بن وليد
(4) قريش (5) عبدالشمس (6) عجم
(7) غور (8) ملک رده (9) بخت نصر (10) سيام

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other tribes, to Mudeena.(1) At that time Kees(2) was the chief of the Afghans, who was directly descended from Mulik Taloot, in thirty-seven generations, and who derived through him, from Abraham, by forty-five generations, and thus to Adam, by sixty-three generations. The author of the Mujma-ul-Unsab gives the genealogical line of Kees Ubd-oor-rusheed,(3) who obtained the title of *Puthân*,(4) thus: Kees, the son of Ees,—of Sulol, of Ootba, of Nueem, of Murah, of Khuleedur, of Sikundur, of Zuman, of Yumeen, of Bhulol, of Suleem, of Sulah, of Karood, of Ashum, of Bhulol, of Kurum, of Umâl, of Khudeeah, of Moomtuhal, of Fyz, of Eelum, of Ashmooeel, of Haroon, of Kumurood, of Abee, of Suhlub, of Tuleel, of Looee, of Amil, of Tarookh, of Arzund, of Mundol, of Suleem, of Afghăna, of Armeea, of Sarool, (Saul) who was styled Mulik Taloot, and who was the son of Kees, of Ootba, of Eees, of Rooaeel, of Judah, of Jacob Israel, of Isaac, of Abraham, and so on to Adam. In short, Kees and the Afghan tribe being introduced at Mudeena, to the service of the true Prophet by the means of Khâlid, and so favored with admission to the true faith, that holy one asked all their names, and being told them, observed, "Kees is an Arab name, and I am of Arabia;" and so he was graciously pleased to confer on Kees the name of Ubd-oor-rusheed, and said, "You are of the race of Taloot, whom the great God has called King, (Mulik;) therefore it is right that your tribe should be called the tribe of *Mulik*." When the Prophet went from Mudeena, for the conquest of Mekka, he placed under Khâlid's command Ubd-oor-rusheed with some of his Afghan Israelites, and they did good service, so much so, that

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(1) مدینه (2) قیس (3) عبد الرشید (4) پٹھان

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seventy persons of the Koresh tribe were slain by the hand of Ubd-oor-rusheed; and the Prophet said of him, that God would give a glorious progeny to flow from his loins, that would excel others in extending and strengthening the knowledge of the true faith. The Prophet further said, that the Angel Gabriel had warned him of the future fortunes of that tribe, by saying, "It is a piece of wood laid as a keel-piece for the construction of a ship." In allusion to this Ubd-oor-rusheed was called Buteean(1) from that day, which means keel-piece, and this word became, by degrees, corrupted into Puthân. In fulfilment of this prophecy, there have arisen out of the tribe Durveshes, and holy men and princes of power, and men blessed with the spirit of the divine presence and speech beyond what can be claimed by any other tribe.

Ubd-oor-rusheed, receiving his dismissal, returned to his native country about the river Ghoor (qy. Kur) and the mountains of those parts, and extending thither the knowledge and practice of the law, converted several infidel tribes to the true faith. He died in the forty-first year of the Hejira, at the age of eighty-two years. The above account of him is not fully established by the concurrent testimony of the best authorities; but the circumstances are reported in several histories, with other matters of a similar kind, such as the sending of a garment to Awys,(2) and the entrusting a comb by the Prophet to Aboo-ulruza,(3) to be delivered to Sheikh Ulee Lala Ghuznuvee.(4) God only knows if the stories told be true.

In short, the tribe of Afghans, from that day forth, went on multiplying and flourishing. God gave to Ubd-oor-

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(1) بتیان (2) اویس (3) ابو الرضا (4) شیخ علی لالا غزنوی

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rusheed Puthân three sons. The eldest, Surnubee, the second Ranubee,(1) and the third Ghur Ghusnee.(2) All these had descendants, and there were different branches derived thro' each to a degree interminable, as is apparent in the present condition of the Afghans. Surnubee had two sons, Khurushtoon(3) and Surukhtoon,(4) and the former had three sons, Kund, Jumla, and Kashee.(5) Kund, the son of Khurushtoon, had two sons, Ghora and Shuja,(6) of whom the latter was the father of four, Turklanee, Gultanee, Umr, and Yousuf Zuhee or Zye.(7) Umr had one son named Munduz,(8) who married a daughter of Yousuf Zye, his uncle, whence he and his descendants are looked upon as of that tribe. Yousuf, the son of Shuja, had two sons, to one of whom he gave his own name, Yousuf Zye, and the second was called Mundur,(9) Yousuf again had four sons, Ilias, Agoo,(10) Mulhye and Eesa,(11) and of these Ilias had three, Salar, Washee and Kuda.(12)

VERSE.

Khizur, my guide to truth be Thou,
Oh keep my steps from error's slough;
Vainly my wit this path would tread,
If to the goal by thee not led.
Help me thro' carelessness's waste;
Give me truth's garden-sweets to taste;
Let my page glow with flowers of sense,
My pen string pearls of eloquence,

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(1) سرنبی–رانبي (2) غرغشي (3) خرشتون
(4) سرختون (5) کند–جمله–کاشی (6) غورا–شجا
(7) ترکلاني–کلتاني–عمر–یوسف زهي (8) مندز
(9) مندر (10) الیاس–اکو–
(11) ملهي–عیسی (12) سالار–واشی–کدا

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That I these Memoirs so may write,
Youth shall reap profit, age delight.*

The guides of the regions of literary knowledge relate thus:—In the time of Mohummud Shah, king of Hindoostan, Tala Khan,(1) son of Kalee Khan Afghan, of the Salar (2) Zye tribe, grandfather of the Ameer, came from Johur in the Buneer(3) country to Hindoostan, and settled at Suraee Tureena, near Sumbhul in Kutehur(4) (Rohilkhund). The story is thus told :—When Tala Khan came to Hindoostan, Mohummud Shah being on the throne of Dehlee, he came as one of the body of Afghans, who

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* The whole history is interlarded with bits of verse of this kind, sometimes taking up and continuing the thread of the narrative, sometimes hyperbolically laudatory, and sometimes consisting of a mere string of conceits after the usual fashion of the present degenerate days of Poesy in the East. It is attempted to preserve the spirit of the original, by giving these ordinarily in rhyme, and line for line. The following literal translation will show with what degree of closeness this has been done.

Come Khizur, oh guide of my path,
Shew me the road to truth— [to satisfaction,
Walking on my head (in token of my devotion,) may I acquit myself
And arrive at the journey's end that is before me—
May I safely escape from the desert of remissness,
And reach the interior of the garden of veracity—
May I fill my pockets with the roses of meaning,
And scatter from my mouth's casket rubies and pearls;
May I so relate the history of the Ameer,
That both young and old may derive profit therefrom.

In the original, a new Chapter commences after the Verse, or rather a new Section of the Chapter, a second commences at the Ameer's birth. The whole have been thrown into one Chapter, for greater convenience

(1) طالع خان بن کالنخان

(2) *Note in original.*—The Ameer's descent is traced through nine generations to Salar, thus—Tala Khan, Kalee Khan, Moula Khan, Seyud Ulee Khan, Futeh Khan, Allahdad Khan, Yoosuf Khan, Kura Khan, Mulya Khan and Salar.

(3) جوهر—بنیر (4) سراي ترينه—سنبهل کتيهر

invaded Rohilkhund under Zuman Khan Jemadar,(1) and who established a cess or black mail, which was levied upon all the Talookdars of that district as the price of military service, the Jemadar undertaking to perform any enterprise of that kind that might offer or be required. Ulee Mohummud Khan(2) Afghan, who was a man of consideration in the country, took the Jemadar into his service. When the army of Mohummud Shah went against Ulee Mohummud Khan, and a battle was fought at Bungurh,(3) near Anola, (or Ounla) in Kutehur, the Ameer's grandfather was cut off from the rest, and surrounded in a house wherein he took refuge with a single servant. For eight days with their two matchlocks did he and his servant keep off the whole of Mohummud Shah's army: when at last they surrendered, the king Mohummud Shah, being in admiration of the valour displayed in the defence against such odds, tendered to Tala Khan honorable employ in his own service; but he, having other objects of ambition in view, refused the offer. Soon after this both Ulee Mohummud Khan and Tala Khan died. Mohummud Hyat Khan,(4) the Ameer's father was then young, but Doondee Khan,(5) in requital for service rendered to him by Tala Khan, entertained him until his death, which happened when the Afghans lost Kutehur (that is, when Hafiz Ruhmut being defeated and slain in battle with the English, Rohilkhund passed into the hands of Shooja Ood-doula.) Mohummud Hyat Khan after that lived in retirement at Suraee Tureena,

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(1) زمان خان جمعدار (2) علي محمد خان

(3) بنگڈہ متصل شہر انولہ (4) محمد حیات خان

(5) دوندی خان

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his birth place, not being able to reconcile it to his pride to take service with any one else. He there lived in intimacy with the honored and learned Shekh Yuhya (1) a man of great piety, and with Gholam Muhee-ood-deen Khan,(2) and other Nobles of that region. He obtained his livelihood creditably, by renting the lands these persons held in property or Jageer, and was distinguished for his knowledge of arithmetic, algebra and astronomy; also for his acquaintance with the Hindoo Shasturs, and with other branches of useful literature and science.

Since in the daily revolution of the earth's sphere some part must always be exposed so as to allow of a birth under the sun's most auspicious aspect, and since in like manner in the course of the heavens round the earth, opportunity is offered for a birth at the most favorable conjunction of the planets. So in the Hejira year 1182,(3) a star of the constellation of glory, and a sun in the heaven of renown, was given to the hopes and wishes of Mohummud Hyat Khan at a happy hour, through the propitious birth of the Ameer. "He came forth like a constellation in the Zodiac of honor," and enlightened the night of his parents' hopes by the effulgence of his beauty and perfections. The voice of joy and of congratulation rose high in the arch of heaven's vault, and the budding branch of the hopes of mankind blossomed with the promise of the fruit of their aspirations. The Ameer's father watching the new born rose of the garden of high destiny in the cradle of constant affection night and day, found fresh delight in observing the growth of his perfections. His

(1) شیخ یحیٰی (2) غلام محی الدین خان

(3) A. D. 1768.—16th May to 6th May, 1769.

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infancy was tended with care, and at the age of seven years he passed his time in youthful sports with other children of the same age. Sometimes the boat of his heart would reach the haven of its wishes by sailing on the river; sometimes he would gather the rose of his desire by strolling in the gardens of his birth place. Being born of a brave and liberal disposition, the boys with whom he associated in his sports, paid him deference, and sought day and night his gratification. Every day he paid them their stipend of couries, and sometimes he might be seen seated on a plank for a car, with three or four others behind him, in mock majesty, as he was drawn along. To one he would assign the Chobdar's office, (that of Gold Stick,) to another that of Cryer of Titles, and so his time passed in early youth. Whenever he received any allowance of pocket money he allotted it into stipends to his mock dignitaries, and when the Exchequer was exhausted, he paid them in kind, or otherwise kept them satisfied and content. His father seeing this turn of his disposition, reproved and admonished him for it, telling him he would leave nothing in the house if he went on with these practices. The boy, however, being filled with high ambition, cared not for his father's advice, but went on as before in his ways. One day, Meean Pâkbâz Shah,(1) a neighbour, who had retired from the world and sat in sanctity, seeking the knowledge of the true God, contemplating his excellencies, and drinking of the cup of divine grace, discovered the signs of high destiny on the forehead of the young Ameer, and having sent for him and made him sit in his presence, said with much kindness of manner—" Will

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(1) میان پاکباز شاہ

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you drink of the milk of ambition?" The Ameer understanding only the word milk, said—"Yes, I will drink after you." The drainer of the cup of sanctity then took a small vessel of wine which was there, and gave it with his blessing to the Ameer, telling him to drink. As the boy knew not the sweets of the draught of hope realized, he no sooner set his lip to the cup, and tasted the flavor of its contents, than he dashed it to the ground and rose in anger, uttering reproaches and abuse against the holy man for having offered him such a beverage. The man of sanctity said—"Foolish boy! I had given you the draught of wishes realized. Alas! the cup of your hopes was but just filled to your hand when you dashed it from you: but thus much is all that fate has written for your lot." The Ameer did not at the time thoroughly understand the meaning of what the holy man foretold, and thought lightly of his words: but they often recurred to him afterwards.

No sooner had the shoot of his years come to bear the fruit of youth, and his lip sprouted with the crop of manhood's prime, than the leaven of his ambition fermented within him, and the desire of trying his fortune in the wide world became unconquerable. Truly the high-spirited falcon cannot be kept to the nest when its wings and talons are full grown; neither can the lion of noble courage be confined to a corner of its den after it has attained full strength. The feeling came to acquire such ascendant over the young man, that he spoke at last on the subject to his father, whose affection for him being strong, he warned and admonished him against yielding to such inclinations, and would not let him leave home. But the Ameer impelled by his ambition, left home at last

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against his father's wishes, and without consulting him went once to Lukhnow,(1) and another time to Meeruth(2) with the army of Gholam Kadir Khan,(3) in order to see the world and seek his fortune. The rise of his star, however, having its appointed time, neither occasion opened for him the prospect he desired. At last it occurred to this favorite of fortune, that since he had been tossed about on the table of uncertainty, and like a pack of cards had been dealt round to nobles and men in power without trumps turning up to the colour of his suit, so that it was evident, the luck was against him, and there was no chance of success in the game, it was his best plan for the present to sheath the sword of his ambition in the scabbard of resignation; and, returning home, submit himself to his father, whose eyes were dimmed by weeping for his absence. He felt well assured that when his father should have forgiven and received him again into favor, and should have been brought to assent to his seeking his fortune in the wide world, and to bless his enterprize, his hopes would be crowned with success, and honor in the world be his meed. In short, acting upon this motive, and keeping his ulterior intentions buried within him, he returned home to the delight of both his parents, and remained there for some time.

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(1) لکھنو (2) میرٹھہ (3) غلام قادر خاں ،

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BOOK THE FIRST.

CHAPTER II.

1788 to 1794.

The Ameer takes leave of his Father, and goes with his consent to seek his fortune—His arrival in Gujrat.

WHEN the Ameer had just turned the twentieth year of his age in the Hejira year 1202,(1) Alee Gohur(2) (Shah Alum,) being on the throne of Dehlee, one year after Gholam Kadir Khan Afghan had deprived the king of sight, he took his final resolution to seek his fortune in a life of military adventure—and, again, asked his father's leave and blessing. His father having well observed the boldness of his temper, and the discontent with which he remained quiet at home, was brought at last to yield assent to his departure, and invoked from the deity a blessing on his enterprize. The Ameer of high ambition then left his home, and with a few associates took the road of adven-

(1) 1787-88—A. H. 1202 began 13th October 1787, and ended 1st October 1788. The author's Hejira dates are not very accurate. Gholam Kadir's cruelties at Dehlee occurred in July and August 1788—1203, therefore, should be the date in the text.

(2) عالی گوهر شاه عالم

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ture. In the course of his journey others joined, and as Destiny had written the designation of chief against his name in the book of fate, his associates, though he had then no servants or retinue, styled him Jemadar of their own election and free will, and obeyed him as their chief during the journey. He came first, after several marches, to Muthra,(1) and as DeBoigne was then raising men for Sindheea's service, the Ameer and his followers offered themselves to him. DeBoigne refused to engage the Ameer on the ground of his youth, but several of his companions were entertained. The Ameer, with the remainder, went to Dehlee, and from thence into the Shekhawatee country to Kanor,(2) where he had an audience of Yoosuf Khan,(3) a Rusaladar, in the service of Nujuf Koolee Khan Zoolfikar-ood-doula,(4) Chela(5) of the first Nujuf Khan. The Rusaladar seeing on his forehead the signs of high destiny and good fortune, received and treated him as his son, and entered him on the Chela's establishment as one of his retainers. He gave him, moreover, a place in his own tents, and courted him with much assiduity. For two months he continued in that service, and then, with the Rusaladar, took employ with Bagh Singh,(6) of Khetree,(7) in the Shekhawatee country, for four or five months. The Rusaladar and Ameer next served Bijye Singh,(8) of Joudhpoor, for about the same period, having entered his employ at Meertha.(9) The

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(1) متھرا (2) کانور علاقہ شیخاواتي (3) یوسف خان رسالہ دار
(4) نجف قلیخان ذوالفقارالدولہ (5) چیلہ نجف خان

Chela is a protégé, brought up in the family. A Rusala is a troop of horse, varying in number from fifty to one thousand.

(6) باگھہ سنگھ (7) کھیتري علاقہ شیخاواتی
(8) بجي سنگھ جود ھپور والہ (9) میرتھہ

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Raja was at this time defeated in a battle with the Dukhunees, (i. e. the Mahrattas,) and the Ameer and Rusaladar retired to Nagor,(1) where they took service with Ismael Beg Khan,(2) who being associated with Bijye Singh, had been then also recently defeated at Kanor.(3) With him they went towards Joudhpoor—and, again, as far south as Palunpoor,(4) in Goojrat, whence Ismael Beg Khan, after levying a contribution, returned to Joudhpoor. The Ameer, however, learning from some of his associates, that Yoosuf Khan, the Rusaladar, designed to propose a marriage for him with his daughter, a compliance with which was incompatible with his own ambitious views, left his service without asking leave, and went to Eedur,(5) a dependency of Joudhpoor, on the frontier of Goojrat, where he took service along with forty or fifty associates with the Raja, and continued for two months. Thence he went to Buroda,(6) in Goojrat, and having collected a body of three or four hundred men, he served the Gaeekwar, (7) for two or three months. When he lost that employ, he proposed to himself to go to Soorat,(8) but on the road many of his followers deserted for want of funds, so that he arrived there with not more than two hundred persons. The high-minded Ameer was, from the first, open-handed in the extreme, and looked not closely to the balance of income and expenditure, nor did he keep fast in the purse of his hopes any thing but the ready coin of a confident reliance on the Providence of God. At this time, therefere, he was so reduced in

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(1) ناگور (2) اسمعیل بیگ خان (3) کانور

(4) پالن پور علاقہ گجرات (5) ایڈر (6) بڑودہ

(7) گایکوار (8) صورت

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circumstances, as to be compelled to sell his own riding horse, in order that, by the proceeds, he might assist his comrades, and keep them together. It was at this period of distress for want of service, at the time of the full moon of the month of Shaban, when good Mahomedans make feasts and oblations, that the Ameer waited upon a Moolvee of high learning and reputation for sanctity, and who had attained the Divine grace. The Moolvee had spread an entertainment, to which many true Mahomedans had been invited, and they were sitting at the table partaking of the feast. The learned and sanctified Moolvee pressed the Ameer to join them, but he replied "Never let it be said, that while my two hundred followers, who depend on me to find them subsistence, are starving, I should sit down to enjoy a full meal." The Moolvee was moved to compassion by this speech of the Ameer, and said, "I will tell you of one of the names and attributes of the Deity, which, if you repeat every day a hundred times, God will open to you the gates of maintenance and comfort, and your troubles will be converted to content." The Ameer received and treasured in his mind, the words imparted by the Moolvee, and returning to his place of encampment repeated the name of God, so communicated, a hundred times. His piety was not without its reward, and his difficulties forthwith disappeared. For that very day a Pundit, who had been employed in collecting the Chouth(1) of Soorat for the Gaeekwar and Peshwa, and was turned out of the city by the English, arrived outside the town with forty or fifty Arabs and some horse, and wrote immediately to offer the Ameer service. The Ameer went in the night to wait upon

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(1) چوتھ

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him, and was entertained with his two hundred men, and received a month's pay in advance. On the same night, the whole party marched from Soorat to a fort about eight kos distant, where they remained quartered. Here they waited fifteen or twenty days, on account of the Ramzan, or fast days: one day, during this period, the Ameer went to the Pundit and said, "Tell me now at once, what you desire and expect from my services, that I may execute your wishes to the best of my endeavours." The Pundit said, "I have it in commission from the Gaeekwar, to levy a fourth of the duties of Soorat from the English. They, however, seeing my small means, have refused to pay." The Ameer said, "Let us this night march, and your wishes shall be accomplished." The Pundit asked, what could be done with so small a party? The Ameer said, "Victory is in the hands of God, and does not depend on numbers. Let us march, there are enough of us to effect the purpose in hand." Accordingly, starting in the night, the party arrived at a spot three miles from Soorat, about two hours before dawn, and then dismounted in a field of Juwar,(1) so high as to conceal their numbers, and give most effect to the alarm it was intended to raise. The Ameer here ordered all his men, and the one hundred horse also of the Pundit, to take each a spear in hand and to go towards the city gate, and upon its being opened in the morning to wound and drive back again all who should attempt to pass out, and then to return to their post in the Juwar field. The men did as they were ordered, and having wounded a great number of persons returned to the ground of encampment. The English gentleman in

(1) Juwar (جوار) is a grain that grows like Indian corn (Holcus sorgum.)

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charge of affairs at Soorat, hearing of what had happened, came out of the city with two battalions, and sent forward an Hurkaru to ask the Pundit the reason of his raising this disturbance. The Pundit sent for answer that his object was to collect the fourth share of the revenues of Soorat. The Saheb sent him word to encamp at Roostum-bagh, which was near the city, when the matter should be arranged amicably. The Ameer, to disguise their small number, carried all his party into the garden, and mounting flags on all their spears stuck them up as so many separate ensigns. He and the Pundit then went out alone to discuss the matter with the Vakeels from the English. They seeing the large number of flags, which they thought must betoken a considerable force, took alarm, and the arrears of Chouth due for three years were paid up to the Pundit, who receiving the money decamped immediately, and discharged the Ameer and his men. From thence the Ameer went into the Kokun(1) (Concan); and as, in his reliance on the favor of the Almighty he was always generous, and spent in godly purposes all that came to his hand, not thinking of the morrow in the fullness of his trust in the providence of God, he was through this disposition reduced in these days of short employ to very great straights: and many of his men deserted, so much so that only forty or fifty stuck by him. When he reached the Kokun with these, it so happened that they had not amongst them a single farthing to provide a meal withal: one of the Ameer's companions observed upon this—"To day we are reduced so low that no body seems to have a piece of money left to buy a meal with, I will take this (Sitar) musical instrument

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(1) کوکن

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into the bazar and sell it, and see what it will produce." He accordingly sold it for one rupee and four annas: with this he purchased a rupee's worth of pulse and four annas worth of opium, and brought the articles to the party. The Ameer mixed the opium in water and divided the whole equally, and this was their meal for that night. Next morning they marched and reached Nasik,(1) otherwise called Goolshunabad.(2) The headmen there, who are hospitable by disposition, entertained the whole party for a week; and a Pundit, who was the Soobadar, took them into service for four months, by which time the rainy season was over. After this, Naroo Sunkur(3) Pundit, who had been appointed by the Peshwa, Soobadar of Lomyn Bichhar(4) in Malwa, arrived at Nasik, and entertained the Ameer and his men, and carried them with him to that place. This Chief the Ameer served for a year, and while in his employ he was joined by his bastard brother Kurum Deen Khan,(5) who had been uneasy at not hearing from him, and had come in search of him. The Ameer's next service was at Bhopal.(6)

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(1) Written in the original نرنک ناسک

(2) گلشنا باد (3) نارو سنکر (4) لومین بچھار

This place is not to be found in any of the Maps. It must be situated somewhere between Seronj and Bhopal, and is frequently mentioned.

(5) کرم دینخان (6) بھوپال

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BOOK THE FIRST.

CHAPTER III.

1794 to 1796.

The Ameer at Bhopal.—State of parties there.

THE regulators of the destinies of the world had fixed that the rise of the fortunes of the Ameer should commence from Bhopal. It was in the Hejira year 1209,(1) when Chhotee Khan(2) a Chela of Nuwab Hyat Mohummud Khan,(3) the ruler of Bhopal, had recently died, and when Chhotee Khan's son, Ameer Mohummud Khan,(4) had possessed himself of the chief authority there, that the Ameer arrived at Bhopal, and presented himself to the last named chief. As there was a feud at the time between the Chela's son, and Ghous Mohummud Khan,(5) Hyat Mohummud's son, the former entertained the Ameer with three hundred men, who then formed his company. He served for one month, while the feud rose high between the two factions. Ghous Mahommed Khan however found means to break entirely the power of his rival,

(1) A. D. 1794.—29th July to 17th July 1795.

(2) چهوتي خان (3) چيله نواب حيات محمد خان

(4) امير محمد خان (5) غوث محمد خان

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and to bring over all his troops, excepting only Nuwab Khan and Darab Khan,(1) two old Rusaladars of Bhopal, who feared for their lives were they to fall into the power of Ghous Mohummed. Thus the chief authority in Bhopal passed away from Ameer Mohummud Khan, and he was compelled to seek refuge in the Fort of Futehgurh,(2) which lies close to the city. Ghous Mohummud Khan attempted to gain over the Ameer, with the rest of his rival's troops, and offered liberally to tempt his avarice. The Ameer, however, was, on a point of honor, compelled to hold back; for Nuwab Khan, and Darab Khan had claimed the protection of their lives at his hands, and for the credit of the Afghan character, he could not bring himself to desert them. Accordingly, holding off from the service of Ghous Mohummud, he contrived by management and mediation to save the two Afghan Surdars in their extremity, and sent them along with his half brother Kureem Deen Khan, across the Nurbuda,(3) and then himself retired with a few followers for some special purposes of his own to Lomyn Bichhar. There happened that night to be an attack made on the place by robbers, and the Ameer received a slight hurt on the leg, but he soon after returned to Bhopal, where Ghous Mohummud Khan was completely established in power.

Raee Himmut Raee(4) of Talgram(5) in Kutehur, had for ten years during the Government of Chhotee Khan, been in high office, and latterly Treasurer of the Bhopal State. Since Chhotee Khan's death, he had been honored with the

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(1) نواب خان و دارا ب خان (2) فتحگڈھ (3) نربدا
(4) راي همت راي (5) تالگرام

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title of Raja by Hyat Mohummud Khan, and was vested with the general management of affairs. To him the Ameer told his tale. The Raee, who was a native of the same country with the Ameer, wished much to get for him the command of all the Bhopal Troops, and laboured hard to effect this object. One day he said to the Ameer, "We two are both strangers in this part of the world, and therefore it is that I wish to procure for you the military command." He accordingly introduced the Ameer himself to Ghous Mohummud Khan, who told him in plain language that he was a turbulent, faithless man, who had rescued, from the fate they deserved, Nuwab Khan, and Darab Khan, embezzlers of lacks of rupees ;—"after this," he added, "you must not expect service from me." Ghous Mohummud further was apprehensive that the Ameer might follow the example of the two delinquents, for they like him were natives of distant places. The Ameer upon this rebuff despairing of his prospects at Bhopal, returned to his quarters, where Raee Himmut Raee waited upon him, and said, "I have done my best to promote your rise on account of our being countrymen ; but you see how the matter lies. The Chiefs here do not wish us well, and have no scruple to do a thing, which has the appearance of a slight to me personally. Consequently, if the occasion should arise for exertion, they will be wanting in my support, and it seems to me therefore better to retire from employ." He accordingly resigned, and Ghous Mohummud Khan appointed Muhrab Khan,(1) and Sooltan Khan(2) Chelas of his own, to be the chief managers of affairs. The Ameer was waiting this while, in confidence that God had something in store for him, when there arrived at the place a Durvesh of sanctity, on whose

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(1) محراب خان (2) سلطان خان

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forehead shone the light of the Divine grace, and who begged charity from him. The Ameer's purse was then so low in every thing, but firm reliance on the Divine favor towards him, that he had but a Dirhim and a half any where at command. He sent this sum, however, by a servant, to the holy man, who, on learning the circumstance, saw the Ameer's disposition and high ambition displayed in the gift, and likewise appreciated his piety. He accordingly sent back three switches by the servant who delivered the money, desiring him to tell his master, that God had given him command over three parts, in token of which the sticks were sent. The servant duly reported this, and the Ameer being naturally inclined to attach weight to the sayings of Durveshes and holy men, took this message also for true, and borrowing another half Dirhim from a companion, ran with it after the Durvesh, and having overtaken him, said, "Take, I pray you, this other half Dirhim, and say why the fourth part should be left out of the gift." The Durvesh replied, "The time has passed for obtaining the objects of prayer. Go, and be content with what is promised you." The Ameer returned to his tents, where he had not sat long, when a person came from Ghous Mohummud Khan, with one hundred gold mohurs for present expences, and the promise of permanent entertainment. The Ameer took the money and reflected that its opportune arrival was a proof of the divine spirit being in the Durvesh; for Providence seemed to have opened the door of subsistence through the intercession of that holy man. In the morning, Ghous Mohummud sent for the Ameer through his Chela Muhrab Khan, and took him into service. Fyzoollah Khan Bungush,(1) who will frequently be

(1) فیض اللہ خان بنگش

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mentioned hereafter, was at this time serving the Bhopal State. The Nagpoor army was then besieging the fort of Hoshungabad,(1) which belonged to Bhopal, but was thirty kos distant, and on the opposite side of the Nurbuda. The garrison were reduced to great straights, every means of obtaining supplies being cut off, while the enemy, besides those employed in the immediate investment of the place, had four or five thousand men north of the Nurbuda to watch the Ghats, and prevent the arrival of succour of any kind from that quarter. None of the Sirdars of Bhopal were willing to undertake any thing for the relief of the place, and this was the cause of the Ameer's being entertained by Ghous Mohummud, who had both experienced and witnessed the boldness of the Ameer and his intrepidity in action.

The relief of Hoshungabad was accordingly now proposed to the Ameer, who started that very night with his three hundred horse and foot, and arrived at the place, where the party of the enemy appointed to guard the passes, north of the Nurbuda, were stationed. As it was still dark the Ameer advanced alone, sheltered by the night, to reconnoitre, and see the state of the watch set in the enemy's camp. Creeping along in the ravines, he got very close to their encampment, and there availing himself of a hollow went still nearer, by which he ascertained that they were in complete security, with no adequate watch kept. He accordingly reflected that if God would but second his ambition, now was the time for a bold effort to achieve reputation. If, on the other hand, he returned without striking a blow, he should meet only

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(1) هوشنگ آباد

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with mockery, and insult, and slight. Keeping this motive of action to himself, he returned to his men, and said to them cunningly, that he had been as far as the river, but had not met a man of the enemy, wherefore he proposed that they should cross immediately while it was dark, and so, with the aid of the besieged, effect the relief of the place. The Ameer's men knew as yet nothing of the real state of things, and his object in keeping the secret from them was, lest, if they were to hear of a strong body of the enemy being on the same side of the Nurbuda with themselves, their courage should fail, and further advance be refused; but if they fell in with the enemy of a sudden, whether as the attacking party, or the assailed, they would most likely acquit themselves with courage on the spur of the moment, as well from habitual discipline, as from a sense of the difficulty of retiring in such circumstances. The advance was accordingly commenced thro' the ravines. When the Ameer's party had gone but a short way, they ascended a table-land, and saw the enemy's camp close by. The Ameer then ordered his men to form in three bodies and to move in succession; he arranged, that each body should approach cautiously and in silence, and that the three parties, when they were well close, should deliver their fire together, and "Then," said he, "may God grant us victory." No one had time to think of any thing but joining battle with the enemy, so they all obeyed the Ameer's orders, and formed three parties, who advanced and delivered their fire in succession, according to the plan laid down. The enemy who were quite unprepared, thought, from hearing three parties firing, that the assailants must be very numerous, and immediately dispersed like cotton under the carder's hands, and fled in different directions. The Ameer and his men slew a great many

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with their spears, and swords, and so arriving at the river's bank, called out to the people of Hoshungabad to send over boats immediately. The besieged heard the call as a voice from heaven, and using all dispatch sent over boats, in which the Ameer and his party embarked; but they were exposed to a fire from the trenches and batteries of the besieging army as they crossed. However, they were soon over, without suffering in the passage, and so got safe into the town. The Kiladar(1) (Commandant) had been tampered with by the enemy, and next day surrendered the place without a shot being fired; so that all the bravery and conduct displayed by the Ameer was of no avail, and he returned accordingly to Bhopal. Ghous Mohummud, who had received a full account of the Ameer's behaviour and of the treachery of the Kiladar before the arrival of the former at Bhopal, received him with high honor, and gave him the command of the old Fort of Bhopal and of Futtehgurh.

The Nagpoor Army was at this time a source of great trouble to the Bhopal State, and matters were not mended by Raee Himmut Raee's retirement from the administration. Hyat Mohummud's Begum being a woman of sense and intelligence, and of a busy, intriguing disposition, acquired a complete ascendant over her husband, who was an indifferent, incapable man; she, in short, managed his party. Seeing none of the relations of the family at Bhopal capable of restoring order to the State, she invited Mooreed Mohummud Khan,(2) a nephew of Hyat Mohummud, and a man of some experience, from Ratgurh.(3) As this nephew knew the Ameer to be a man of enterprise

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(1) قلعدار (2) مرید محمد خان (3) رات گڈھ

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and resolution, and his courage had been proved, he saw little prospect of success to his design of obtaining the mastery in all things, while the Ameer remained: so, he replied to the Begum, "There is a person who has the command of the forts of Bhopal, (meaning the Ameer) are you sure he will do nothing to defeat your enterprize? If you can get him removed, I am ready." The Begum agreed to this, and contrived the Ameer's disgrace, and thereupon Mooreed Mohummud Khan came to Bhopal.

The Ameer did not think it expedient to remain in the neighbourhood, but went away to Seronj,(1) and for a week staid there, in the hope of procuring service from Lukhwa Dada,(2) who held the place for Doulut Rao Sindheea. He refused to comply with the Ameer's terms, upon which the pay of the lost time was levied upon him by the sword, and the Ameer moved off to Bala Rao Inglia,(3) another principal Officer of Sindheea's, upon whom he remained in attendance for ten or twelve days. Inglia too complained of the heaviness of the demand for the Ameer's pay, and said the expense was beyond his means. He further refused payment of the Omedwaree Huq,(4) (that is, of the means of subsistence, while the terms of service were under negociation.) Whereupon the Ameer taking a small dagger concealed in his dress, went into the fort to Bala Rao, and boldly, in open Durbar, drew his dagger, and holding it to his breast, demanded his dues for the time lost. He thus a second time levied by his courage, and by the force of arms, the pay of his men for the period of their remaining in attendance, and having shown an

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(1) سرونج (2) لکھوادادا (3) بالارأوا نکلیه

(4) حق اُمید واري

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example of intrepidity, went safe out of the Fort. Bala Rao, after paying the money, meditated getting rid of the Ameer by treachery, but Shekh Kulub Ulee,(1) who commanded the Brigade there, declared to him, that it was unbecoming for a Sirdar to do otherwise than admire the boldness of the Ameer in thus enforcing his demand in Durbar, in the very midst of those from whom he could expect nothing but instant death, and thatit would be discreditable to deal treacherously with such a man. He recommended, indeed, that the Ameer should be taken into service, and Bala Rao sent offers to him to that effect: he would not however then accept employ from him, but returned to Seronj, and staid there unentertained for four months.

In this interval, the affairs of Bhopal had taken another turn. Mooreed Mohummud Khan had obtained uncontrolled authority, and had brought over most of the influential military men to his faction. He sent offers secretly to the Ameer, explaining, that although it had not before suited his purposes to engage him, he was now anxious to do so; and he desired that he would come forthwith and encamp outside of the city walls, and trust for his pay to be provided in secret by himself, but to give out that he was without employ, and seeking entertainment. The Ameer left Seronj upon this invitation, and came with four or five hundred men to Bhopal, where he encamped outside the city, and sent immediate notice of his arrival to Mooreed Mohummud Khan. This Chief sent money secretly for his present charges; while in public, he ordered the Ameer to be gone immediately,

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(1) شيخ كلب علي

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telling him there was no service to be had at Bhopal. After a time he found his opportunity, and put to death the Nuwab's Begum who had invited him to Bhopal, and further placed Raee Himmut Raee, who was an old and faithful servant of that principality, under restraint. By his order, the Ameer's troops were set to guard the Nuwab's Seraglio during these events, and made prisoner Ghous Mohummud Khan, the Nuwab's (Hyat Mohummud's) son, who was then at feud with Mooreed Mohummud Khan. In short, by the Ameer's exertions the affairs of Mooreed Mohummud Khan were brought to a most favorable posture at Bhopal. But the Mohurrum falling at the time, Raee Himmut Raee contrived, during the ten days' ceremonies, through the neglect of his guard, to make his escape in disguise, and so fled through the mountains to Seronj in Malwa, which was then held by Raja Doorjun Sal Keechhee,(1) whose court he joined.

The Ameer remained in Mooreed Mohummud Khan's employ for eight or nine months, but a quarrel arising between him and Ruhum Khan,(2) the Commandant in Chief of the Bhopal troops, he again left the place and retired to Seronj.

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(1) راجہ درجن سال کیچھی (2) رحم خان

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BOOK THE FIRST.

CHAPTER IV.

1796—1797.

The Ameer unites with Raja Jysingh and Doorjun Sal, Keechhees, of Ragoogurh, who had taken to a life of plunder in Malwa—their affairs being restored—the Ameer remains for a time with Bala Rao, and then returns to Bhopal.

In those days Raja Jysingh and Doorjun Sal,(1) of the Keechhee tribe, Graseea Chiefs of Ragoogurh, had been recently expelled from all their territories and possessions by Doulut Rao Sindheea, and both had accordingly taken to a life of promiscuous plunder, living in the neighbouring deserts and wilds. The Ameer joined them, and was party to most of their enterprises. Luchhmun Rao,(2) Jageerdar of Muheeputpoor, had been detached to Ghogurh,(3) in Shujaeelpoor, with two thousand horse

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(1) راجه جیسنگه و درجن سال قوم کچهي کراسیه راگهوگڈه واله

(2) لچهمن راو جاگیردار مهیپت پور

(3) بمقام کهوگڈه علاقه شجاعل پور

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and foot, and twenty-five guns, belonging partly to Sindheea and partly to Holkur, to put down these bandits, and the brought them to action soon after the Ameer had joined. Although the force of the two Rajpoots was much inferior, still the Ameer contrived by his words and example to infuse courage into the two leaders, and with his two hundred men rode forward boldly to charge the enemy. Raja Jysingh and Doorjun Sal both hung back at first, and abused the Ameer for advancing so rashly. The Ameer, however, continued his charge, but finding the enemy too distant to be reached at once, he drew up in a hollow to give his horses fresh wind, and took himself a smoke of his hooqa. The enemy opened on him with their numerous artillery, but without effect, owing to the protection afforded by the ground. After a time the Ameer renewed his charge, and mixing with the enemy, made many of them provender for the swords and spears of the vengeful champions of the faith. It was in this charge that an Afghan, named Inayut Khan,(1) one of the Ameer's men, fell in with Luchhmun Rao Pundit, who commanded the enemy, and dispatched him with his sword. The enemy, seeing their general slain, fled in confusion, suffering a shameful defeat by a mere handful of men. The Ameer continued the pursuit for two or three kos, and then returned and took possession of the booty, which was great, consisting of guns, palkees, tents, and articles of all kinds. From that day forth the Ameer became a *Palkee Nusheen*, that is, assumed the privilege of riding in a palkee (a distinction which used to be granted by Sunud from Dehlee.)

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(1) عنایت خان افغان

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Marching thence, the Ameer came to Luteeree,(1) in Seronj. Bala Rao, a Sirdar of high rank and credit in Sindheea's service, came next against the Keechhee Rajpoots, with a large force. As they were much inferior in number, the Ameer advised them to avoid a battle, which they did, retiring into the jungul about Chanderee,(2) which is thick and thorny, and afforded good shelter. But as they could not carry the guns they had captured from Luchhmun Rao into the rugged country, in which they thus sought refuge, they left them on the ground. The Ameer determined to stay with them, and soon after restored them to Bala Rao for a consideration of ten thousand rupees, finding it impossible to carry them with him in his rapid movements.

Bala Rao taking the guns, moved on against the Keechhees, and encamped at Koorwaee Bhootrasa,(3) which is thirteen kos from Chanderee. Here he divided his army into four bodies, to act more effectively against his active enemy. Raja Jysingh, however, had collected a force of ten or twelve thousand horse and foot, and a Keechhee Sirdar, named Sheer Singh,(4) a most appropriate name, for he was verily brave as a lion, had joined him, and it was determined in their council to make an assault on Raghoogurh.(5) They accordingly moved through the jungul in that direction, and attempted the place, but Sindheea's garrison being too strong they failed, and only succeeded in plundering the helpless Ryots and others outside the walls. It was at this

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(1) لٹیڑی (2) چندیري (3) کوروائي بھوترا سہ

(4) شیرسنگھ (5) راگھوگڈہ

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period that a quarrel happened between Jysingh and his uncle Doorjun Sal, and the latter separated from the party. Several of the Raja's followers did the same, but the influence of Sheer Singh retained many. He said to Raja Jysingh, "Trouble not yourself about Doorjun Sal, and those who have gone with him. By the blessing of God I was left quite alone to oppose the whole power of Sindheea, and yet came I off with credit, and gained a name for courage and enterprise that will last when I am gone: but here you are far from deserted, and am I not with you? Why need you fear or despair of your cause?" Raja Jysingh's courage was restored by these words, and he asked the Ameer what he thought of the state of his affairs? The Ameer replied, that until the Raja should be restored to the seat of his ancestors, he would stick by him with as many men as might follow his leading. The Raja, being well pleased at this assurance, made a promise, that, if the Ameer remained faithful, he should have the half of any thing he might eventually recover. Bala Rao's army came up soon after in four divisions from different directions: but as the Raja was night and day in march, never resting any where, none of the divisions succeeded in falling in with him. The Ameer was on this occasion eighteen days marching and plundering without intermission, never dismounting from his horse, except for a moment for occasions of need, and taking his meals even on horseback, according as he found the material amongst the plunder. The flour of his bread he mixed up on horseback, and collected the the wood to dress it with the butt end of his spear, then dropping fire into it from the match of his gun, he toasted the cakes with the same spear, and so ate his meal, always

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ready for the enemy.(1) After eighteen days' hard suffering of this kind, without intermission, the Ameer returned to Seronj.

Sheer Singh one day said tauntingly to the Ameer, "What have the Afghans not done in days of yore, whereby their name lives in the page of history? where are there in the present day men like those who performed these actions?" The Ameer said upon this, "That taunt is for me, though the blow be given indirectly. It is well; by God's help, you shall see me alone brave the whole of Bala Rao's army." The Ameer being bent on executing this boast, one morning attended by a single servant, left Jysingh while he was marching in the jungle, and spurring his horse into the open plain, came towards evening upon Bala Rao's camp. As he was alone no body molested him, and the Ameer went boldly through the ranks towards the place where Bala Rao was, which he guessed would be near the Artillery. Thither he accordingly bent his steps, determined upon a desperate action in proof of his courage. Keeping his purpose secret, and edging slowly up towards the guns, he came close on the guard, which challenged, and would have stopped him as a stranger, but the Ameer, putting his horse forthwith upon his mettle, made straight for Bala Rao, who was sitting with a few men of the camp in front of his park, and struck at him with his spear. His appointed time was not come, for, in the hurry, the spear was not effectual, but struck

(1) The Poet's cloven foot seems to show itself in this passage: indeed whenever the Ameer's personal feats are under relation, the reader must be prepared to make considerable allowances for the Sub-Secretary's poetical fancy.

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only a part of his dress, without wounding him. The men of the camp rose up from all sides, but the Ameer using dispatch, and giving his horse the rein and spur, made good his escape. As it got soon dark, the troopers of Bala Rao's army were afraid to pursue, and the Ameer, spending that night supperless in the jungul, rejoined Raja Jysingh next day. The Raja had heard of the Ameer's feat before the latter came in, so he was received with loud acclamation and applause, and Sheer Singh, who had opened his mouth before only in taunts and reproaches, asked pardon, and said to the Ameer, "You have indeed excelled the brave men of the old time, and the impression of this action will remain in every one's heart, for as the Poet says (1) "So have you done, and so men do."

Raja Doorjun Sal now rejoined Raja Jysingh; and Bala Rao's troops being worn out with the continual marching and countermarching in pursuit of such an enemy, that Chief proposed an arrangement, tendering restoration of half the Raja's original possessions. Raja Jysingh, who found his men dropping off daily by ones and twos, fell readily into these terms, and took Jhurkon (2) and other places as his half, leaving Raghoogurh, and the rest, in Sindheea's possession. Thus this affair was adjusted, and the troubles excited by the dispossessed Keechhees ceased. But Raja Jysingh and Sheer Singh conceived ill-will against one another, in consequence of the former's hesitating to fulfil the promises, under which the latter had joined him, which extended to a share of the acquired territory. Sheer Singh, seeing that the Raja kept not his word,

(1) این کار از تو آید و مردان چنین کنند (2) جهرکون

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went off: and the Raja and Doorjun Sal began to fear that the Ameer, who had also a promise of half the territory, would similarly claim performance, and make refusal a ground of yet more serious quarrel: for, knowing the Ameer's resolution, they feared, if denied he would take what was his due by force. They accordingly resolved, at all hazards, to make away with the Ameer, and remained watching for an opportunity to effect their purpose. One day the Ameer was going along in his palkee, near his camp at Seronj: he had adopted this mode of conveyance in consequence of a wound in the leg from a matchlock, which hurt him as he fell accidentally from his horse about four or five days before. He had gone to visit the shrine of Moortuza Ulee, (1) which was near the camp of Raja Jysingh, and was returning by a road through the camp, when the Raja, seeing how thinly he was attended, thought the opportunity favorable, and made a sign to his people, who thereupon surrounded the palkee on all sides, and began throwing stones at it. Several of them hit the Ameer, and gave him other serious hurts. There was then a great tumult; the Ameer's men surrounding him, gave him such protection as they could with their shields, forming a ring round the palkee. Kurum Deen Khan, the Ameer's half brother, drew his sword, and kept the crowd off, as did also the Ameer himself, but they both received hurts from the pelting of stones which was still kept up. The Ameer bit his lip for vexation at his helplessness from his wound: but the mercy of God came to his succour in this extremity; for the men of the Ameer's camp, hearing of the tumult, came and joined in it armed and prepared for all hazards:

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(1) مرتضى علي

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and so, taking part with the Ameer and his attendants, they made head against the assailants and beat them off. Raja Jysingh was not prepared for this, and perceiving that his purpose had failed, came forward, and with many apologies, exerted himself to quell the tumult. The Ameer saw through his treachery and faithlessness, and throwing up his engagement with him, kept within his own camp. As he had lost many men by desertion during the hard service with the Keechhees, and from the scarcity of funds, there remained of his followers not more than one hundred horse and foot. With these he halted about Seronj until recovered of his hurts from the stones, which proved worse to heal than sword wounds. He was still an invalid from them, when one day mounting his horse, he went to wait upon the Holy Durvesh Shah Zuhoor Oollah, (1) who lived in abstraction at a Gunj, (market place,) not far from Seronj, and was celebrated for sanctity, and for his devotions. All the year round, in winter as in summer, he sat in abstraction clothed in a black blanket, and never rose from his corner, but abstaining entirely from the conversation of mankind, continued repeating the names of the true God. The Fuqeer-reverencing persons, who were present when the Ameer arrived, gave the holy man notice of his coming. The Durvesh in his abstraction, raised his head and asked "Who is he"? They told him it was the Rohilla Afghan Mohummud Ameer Khan. The Durvesh desired him to be seated. The Ameer, rich as he was in faith and reliance on the special protection of the Deity, had then an empty purse in consequence of the long period of his non-employ; so, coming forward with all humility, he

(1) شاہ ظہور اللہ

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repeated the usual address to the Deity in salutation. The Durvesh asked, "Why came you hither, and what have you brought for me?" The Ameer replied, "My heart and soul are at your disposal, my condition, however, is not unknown to you." The Durvesh said, "Give me something." The Ameer in his liberality undid a borrowed doputta which he had bound round his waist as a kumurbund, and put it on the Durvesh, who said, "Tie on again your own kumurbund." The Ameer refused: the Durvesh, however, was urgent, and said, "Take it, I insist." The people present begged the Ameer to yield, saying "The Durvesh who never speaks to a soul, has had his attention drawn to you, and holds conversation with you: do not cross him by refusing to do as he bids, it will be the better for your future fortunes." The Ameer then took back the doputta, and the Durvesh opening his mouth in prayer, thus drew the sword of his tongue from its scabbard, "You will be a Master of territory, and of many servants, and of much state; but will suffer much, and a life of labour and of vicissitude is before you. Be not disheartened at the ills that press upon you!" The Ameer, having fallen at the holy man's feet, took his leave, when a dancing girl of the Durvesh's followers, who had left his service and lived near, came up to him, and asked for the doputta which had been refused by the holy man. The Ameer untied and gave it immediately; but the Durvesh hearing of it was very angry, and reproved this person severely, saying, "Know you not that the man's kumurbund was a borrowed one? Send it back instantly!" The girl accordingly sent it back, and the Ameer returned home with it, reflecting that he had twice before been the object of the especial interposition of Providence, and now for the third time

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had been warned of his high destiny by a godly man, and desired to bind his waist to exertion, that he would now therefore do it in earnest, and see what fate ordained for him.

From Seronj the Ameer went to Shujaeelpoor, where there was a Komavisdar, (1) or manager, on the part of the Peshwa. This man sent people to offer the Ameer service, but, as the Ameer knew that Bala Rao intended to attack the place, and did not wish to be drawn into the quarrel, he refused the offer. The agents who had made it, however, said, "You are afraid of Bala Rao's army, and therefore hesitate to engage yourself." The Ameer said, "You have not the means to engage my services, but I will stay and fight the battle for you for mere good will." They said, "What will you take?" The Ameer said "Ten thousand rupees per mensem." They agreed, and immediately paid half this sum down. The Ameer distributing part, and giving the rest to Kurum Deen Khan, sent the latter to Bhopal to engage fresh men there for the enterprise. Kurum Deen Khan had barely gone, when Bala Rao sent a detachment of five or six thousand horse and foot, under a Pundit, and one Uzeez Khan, (2) an Afghan, to attack the place. There were in Bala Rao's army two Afghans named Moonuwur Khan and Umur Khan. (3) The Ameer addressed himself to the Afghans and said, "You are of the same tribe with me, and I have undertaken for the defence of this place at ten thousand rupees a month, you had better join me in the enterprise, and you shall have half the stipulated sum." They replied that the proposition was not consistent with the honor of the

(1) کماسدار (2) عزیزخان (3) منورخان-عمرخان

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Afghan name. The Ameer then reflected that victory was in the hands of God, and did not depend on numbers. He accordingly addressed his followers, and told them to lift him upon his horse, for his leg would not yet admit of his mounting without assistance, and then to bandage the injured part, so that it should give him as little inconvenience as possible, and said he, "When the enemy approaches, do all of you fire at once, and charge in a close body along with me." They prepared to obey his commands, and the Komavisdar's men followed as a support to the Ameer's attack. When the enemy arrived within musquet shot, the Ameer gave the word to fire together. The fire was so effectual, that several fell one over the other, and the Ameer's men charged forthwith, as before arranged. At the time of the charge the Ameer drew up, and his men, represented, that then was not the time to stand still. The Ameer said, "Be it so! do you charge home against the battalion while I meet the Afghans." The result was, that the Ameer's men, who went against the battalion, overthrew it; and the Ameer who, with ten or twelve horse, rode into the enemy's line, singled out the Afghan Uzeez Khan, who commanded, and came somewhat ahead of the rest to meet him, and with one stroke of his sword brought him to the ground. Having then broken the enemy's line, and got into the rear, he saw there the Pundit who commanded the detachment, sitting on the ground binding his turband. The Ameer rode up and slew him with his spear. The army seeing these principal men slain, fell into confusion, and fled precipitately, and the Ameer returned to his camp. Three days after this affair, Bala Rao himself came up with the brigade of Shekh Kulub Ulee and a large army, and laid regular siege to Shujaeelpoor, sending at the same

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time offers of service to the Ameer if he would desert. The Ameer sent for answer, that honor would not permit him at that time to accept the Rao's offer, but when the siege was over he would willingly engage with him. Bala Rao was silent on receiving this message. The Ameer, seeing the strength of the besieging force, advised the Kumavisdar not to attempt to defend the place, and, the advice being approved, the Ameer carried him safe out of the town to Sarungpoor. (1)

When Bala Rao had occupied Shujaeelpoor, he again sent for the Ameer, and entertained him with one thousand men, horse and foot, who then formed his company. The rate of pay was fixed at five rupees a man for foot-soldiers, and ten per mensem for each horseman: as this, however, was very low pay, the men lost heart, saying, they could never subsist on such allowances. The Ameer, however, promised them double pay: they asked "From what funds?" The Ameer said "From the same that have supported you up to this time." This satisfied the men. Bala Rao, soon after, sent the Ameer to plant a garrison at Seronj, under the Amil, and the Ameer, having established posts and regulated matters there to satisfaction, was joined by Kurum Deen Khan, whom he had sent into Bhopal to recruit. He brought with him five hundred fresh men. The Ameer was then ordered by Bala Rao to conduct a convoy of grain from Malwa to the army of Doulut Rao Sindheea, in the Dukhun. Marching for this purpose from Seronj, he went as far as Ashta, levying contributions on the villages as he passed for the benefit of his men, and thus kept them well

(1) سارنگپور

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contented, and fulfilled his promise to them. From the point at Ashta, where the roads meet, he turned off to Bhopal, and pitched his tents outside the city wall.

Golee Khan,(1) the Jageerdar of Ambapanee, who was of the Nuwab's family, and a dependent of Bhopal, tendered him service. This Chief had raised the standard of revolt, and Vuzeer Mohummud Khan,(2) who was also of the family, had been called in by Mooreed Mohummud, to quell the insurrection. He accordingly went against Golee Khan, but being tampered with, both Chiefs joined their forces, and marched with a large army on Bhopal. Raee Himmut Raee who had escaped from confinement in Bhopal, as already related, and had since resided at Seronj and Aroun,(3) applied there for the aid of Doorjun Sal and the Keechhees, to rescue and restore the Nuwab, (Hyat Mohummud,) but finding that Mooreed Mohummud Khan had tampered with the Keechhees, he suddenly left Seronj and Aroun, and joined Golee Khan at Ambapanee. Within the city again Ghous Mohummud Khan, Hyat Mohummud's son, won over most of the party of Mooreed Mohummud Khan, and was tampering with the troops to procure their openly joining him. In this state of things, Mooreed Mohummud Khan no sooner heard of the Ameer's coming than he too offered service, claiming a preference on the ground of old friendship. The Ameer answered all these offers by declaring himself the soldier of Bala Rao Inglia, his obligations to whom did not admit of his staying in those parts. Mooreed Mohummud Khan pressed him with much importunity to give him some present aid, and at last

(1) گولی خان جاگیردار انباپانی (2) وزیر محمد خان
(3) سرونج وارون

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the Ameer agreed to take one thousand rupees per diem, and on this condition promised to stay until ordered away by Bala Rao. Mooreed Mohummud Khan entertained the Ameer for a short time on these terms. But as Golee Khan and Vuzeer Mohummud Khan were approaching with a large force, and were still making fresh levies of horse and foot, while many of the Sirdars within the town were daily falling off from Mooreed Mohummud Khan and joining Ghous Mohummud, Mooreed Mohummud at last, finding his party fail him, agreed to give over the country and its forts to Bala Rao, and applied publicly to the Mahrattas for assistance. Bala Rao marched forthwith, bringing along with him the Brigade of Shekh Kulub Ulee, with which he arrived at Bhopal: and Mooreed Mohummud Khan immediately made over to him the fort of Futehgurh, and coming out of the town, joined his camp to that of Bala Rao. A garrison was at first sent from the Brigade into Futehgurh, while Bala Rao remained outside with the rest of his army. On Mooreed Mohummud Khan's departure, Ghous Mohummud easily established his authority in Bhopal; and Golee Khan and Vuzeer Mohummud, with a large army, came and encamped about ten or twelve kos off. Bala Rao began now to think, that if a general action were to take place in the plain, while the Brigade was weakened by providing the garrison at Futehgurh, there might be a chance of defeat. He accordingly ordered the Ameer to form the garrison of Futehgurh, while he should write for reinforcements from the armies of Lukhwa and Bapoo Sindheea,(') both these Chiefs being in Malwa, at no great distance. The Ameer excused himself at first, on the ground that the fort was

(') لکھوا و باپو سندھیہ

not provisioned, so that it would be impossible for him to hold it long. Bala Rao promised to provision it in all haste, whereupon the Ameer undertook the charge. Bala Rao having thus entrusted the fort to the Ameer, marched away from Bhopal, taking Mooreed Mohummud Khan(1) with him. That day he encamped three kos off, and next day made a march of ten kos towards Seronj, and thence by successive marches to Bhilsa.(2) In this interval, Golee Khan and Vuzeer Mohummud entered Bhopal, and gave to their own party the ascendant. Raee Himmut Raee was sent by them to administer Bhurseea, (3) being still excluded from any active share in affairs at the capital. The Ameer being left in garrison at Futehgurh, as above related by Bala Rao, waited some days, and then wrote to remind him of his promise to provision the place. Bala Rao wrote in reply, making excuses, and saying, that he had received pressing orders from Doulut Rao to seize Lukhwa,(4) who had received warning and fled, that there had been a great mortality also amongst the troops, which had delayed his own return to Bhopal. He promised, however, to be with the Ameer quickly. The Ameer was under no apprehension so long as there was hope of the supplies; but seeing no sign of any thing of the kind, the pulse of his heart beat quick, and he began to reflect that it was time to determine on some course of proceeding: for his circumstances were desperate, and without some expedi-

(1) Mooreed Mohummud fell ill in this march, and died at Seronj. Bala Rao had endeavoured to extract a sum of ten lacks of rupees from him, which was one source of illness with this confirmed miser.

(2) بهلسه (3) بهرسيا

(4) The quarrel of Doulut Rao, with his uncle's widows, and the wives and concubines of Mahajee Sindheea, began at this time to produce distraction in the affairs of that durbar. Lukhwa Doda was looked upon by Doulut Rao as at the head of the Baee's party.

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ent for procuring the means of subsistence, it was all over with him. After considering some time, he resolved to open the guns of the fort on the town, and make the inhabitants sue him for mercy, and so obtain the subsistence he required, as the price of his forbearance. He accordingly commenced firing on the town, raising there a great commotion. Vuzeer Mohummud Khan sent word to the Ameer, that it was unbecoming an Afghan to fire thus on the inoffensive inhabitants. The Ameer replied, "Why have you forgotten the rights of Afghan hospitality? I am here hungry and you feasting." Vuzeer Mohummud Khan sent immediately a large supply of cooked victuals, enough to feed the Ameer and his followers. This went on for a week—victuals being sent whenever the guns were opened on the town, still Bala Rao came not: on the contrary he made a settlement with Bhopal, the Vakeels agreeing to take thirty thousand rupees in money and the Muhal of Gorgaon.(1) He then sent his Bukhshee, Sham Lol,(2) to the Ameer, with an order to evacuate the fort. Vuzeer Mohummud Khan was urgent that it should be made over to him, but the Ameer surrendered it to Hyat Mohummud Khan, the Chief of the State of Bhopal. He, however, brought out the family of Vuzeer Mohummud Khan who were there, and sent them to that Chief; after which, taking with him all the stores he needed, and could carry, he evacuated the place. Vuzeer Mohummud Khan plotted to deprive the Ameer of the equipments and property he carried from the fort, and sent to demand that these articles should be restored to the

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(1) یک محال کورکانون

The place here referred to is doubtful.

(2) شام لعل بخشي

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Bhopal State, under a threat of ill consequences if refused. The Ameer replied, that what he had gained by force might be taken from him in the same way by any one inclined to the attempt, but it was a strange return Vuzeer Mohummud was making, to urge this demand after having received back his family from the Ameer freely, without any consideration. Vuzeer Mohummud felt the obligation he was under, and gave up his design, and the Ameer was preparing to march off, when Bala Rao made his appearance at Bhopal, with several Brigades of Infantry and a large Army. Vuzeer Mohummud Khan went out to meet him with such troops as he could collect, and invited the Ameer to join him. The Ameer said, "Have you so soon forgotten all that has already passed between us?" Vuzeer Mohummud asked forgiveness, and so made his peace with the Ameer, who was induced to join him with his troops.

Although it was the height of imprudence to leave the town in the face of so superior an enemy, and the Ameer strongly dissuaded him from doing so, still Vuzeer Mohummud could not be restrained, but went out, and met Bala Rao in the plain. Taking Hyat Mohummud Khan's special troops besides his own, he formed the whole into three bodies, which he drew up close to one another for mutual support. Bapoojee Sindheea, a man of courage and of high rank and reputation, who was with Bala Rao on this occasion, made a charge on the Nuwab of Bhopal's special troops, and worsting them, put many men of credit and character, who were amongst them, to the sword, so much so, as to be near defeating the whole army of Vuzeer Mohummud. The Ameer, however, exerted himself to restore their courage, and called out to those who were about to retire, that although his advice had been

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against venturing out of the town, yet now they were in the plain, it would be ruin to retreat. That their only chance was to retire fighting towards the defences of the town, and then make a stand under their support. This advice was approved and adopted, and the Bhopal troops made their stand on the glacis under the wall. The Ameer took post in a garden, close by the wall, and the evening drawing on, the fighting ceased on both sides. Next morning the Ameer, with some good marksmen, went out towards the enemy, and formed an ambuscade in some low broken ground on a nulla, which was between the two armies. He then desired Meean Akbur Mohummud Khan,(1) of the Bhopal family, now one of the Ameer's principal officers and most esteemed companions, to ride forward alone towards the enemy, and if any came out against him to draw them towards the ambuscade. The Khan, whose head was full of the enthusiasm of true bravery, did so, and being pursued by some Pindarees of the Mahratta Camp, drew them on, and came himself into the broken ground at the place agreed upon. The Ameer was there with his men ready to fire, and the pursuers were no sooner within his net than he gave the word, and many fell the victims of their temerity. The Ameer, after performing this feat, returned to his quarters.

Doulut Rao Sindheea was at this time much troubled on account of Lukhwa Dada, and wrote repeatedly to Bala Rao, and to Bapoojee to get him into their power. The Mahratta Chiefs therefore, deeming it necessary to break up from before Bhopal, made a hasty composition, and marched away. Vuzeer Mohummud Khan was anxious to keep the Ameer in the service of the Bhopal State,

(1) میان اکبر محمد خان

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but he would not take employ from him personally. He had, however, an audience of Hyat Mohummud, the Nuwab and nominal Chief, who was particularly gracious, and took him into the service of Bhopal, and employed him in raising fresh troops; whereat Vuzeer Mohummud being displeased, and filled with jealousy, retired into privacy, leaving the Ameer to manage all the affairs of the State, which he did with zeal and devotion to the Nuwab's interests, and in such a manner as to give general satisfaction. The Nuwab treated him with great favor, but as, in consequence of the disturbances created by the armies and bands of free-booters which surrounded the place, there was no regular collection of revenue, the Ameer was compelled for eight months to support his men by forced levies on the villages in the neighbourhood. He had increased the army to ten thousand men, and when the resources from the surrounding villages failed, the Nuwab's treasury was made to supply funds for their support—then arbitrary levies on the townspeople were had recourse to: but these also being insufficient, and no other resource presenting itself, the Ameer at last took his dismissal from Nuwab Hyat Mohummud Khan. The Nuwab was loath to part with him, but consenting at last, asked—"To whom do you make me over, now you are going?" The Ameer replied—"To God;" but afterwards sending for Vuzeer Mohummud Khan, he brought about a reconciliation between him and the Nuwab. On taking his final leave, the Nuwab presented the Ameer with a *Must*(1) Elephant and four guns, which the Ameer refused to take, saying, he did not want the

(1) فیل مست

An elephant is said to be *Must*, when in the ungovernable state to which males, in their old age, are liable.

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guns, but as for the elephant he would send for it when no longer *Must*.

As the Ameer became now linked with Juswunt Rao Holkur, the Narrator of these events and passages of his life, checking the career of his pen, feels compelled to turn aside, in order to introduce the reader to this Chief, and to relate something of his adventures and of other Chiefs of the Dukhun, who were the Ameer's cotemporaries. The History will thus acquire order and connexion, and proceed from the beginning to the end, so as to implant itself firmly on the memory of the reader. The following Book is devoted to an explanation of the condition of the Mahratta Empire, and the connexion of this nation with Hindoostan. The first meeting of the Ameer and Mŭhraj Juswunt Rao Holkŭr will be reserved for the Third Book.

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BOOK THE SECOND.

SKETCH OF THE RISE AND CONDITION OF THE MAHRATTA POWER, IN EXPLANATION OF THE STATE OF PARTIES AT THE PERIOD OF THE AMEER'S CONNEXION THEREWITH.

CHAPTER I.

A. D. 1660 to 1760.

Introductory—Origin of the Mahratta Power—Its Rise and Progress in Hindoostan to the battle of Paneeput.

Minstrel! touch th' instructive lyre,
From state secrets lift the veil:
Send forth tones that will inspire
Gladness, ease to hearts that ail—
From behind that veil concealed,
Make my song to ravish sense,
While I tell what is revealed
Tell of times removed far hence.
Chiefs of Dukhun may your story
Prove to me a source of glory.

MANY Books have been written, which tell the history of the Rajas who heretofore attained supreme power in Hindoostan, the writer of this Narrative intends not to go further back than the time of Raja Saoo, (1) the son of Sumbha, the son of Seva. He has referred to all the Persian and Hindee authorities, and has enquired from

(1) راجه ساو بن سنبها بن سیوا

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intelligent persons who have made history their study, and has thence collected the following—which he believes to be an authentic history of those times.

Raja Saoo, the son of Sumbha, the son of Seva, was the Chief of all the princes of the Dukhun. The origin of his power was as follows—A Grassea Chief, named Seva, the grandfather of Raja Saoo, mastered several forts in the Karnatik, (1) and rose in rebellion against the power of the Emperor Aurungzeeb Alumgeer. Being pursued by the armies of that sovereign, he lost several of his forts to different Chiefs of the Royal army, and at last, in the year of the Hejira 1072, (2) made his submission through the great Raja Jyesingh, of Jyepoor, and presented himself at the Royal Durbar for the purpose at Dehlee. Suspecting treachery, however, he made his escape soon after, and renewed the troubles of the Dukhun, until at last he died a natural death in the Hejira year 1090. (3)

Sumbha, the son of Seva, succeeded, and followed his father's courses. Collecting about five thousand men, he raised the standard of independence, but in 1103 (4) Hejira, was captured by the Royal forces, with all his family, and put to death.

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(1) کرناتک

(2) The Hejira year 1072 commenced 27th August 1661, and ended on the 15th August 1662. But according to Grant Duff, March 1666, was the date of Sevajee's appearance at Dehlee. Captain Jonathan Scott following Ferishta, fixes it in the Hejira year 1075, corresponding with 1664-5, viz. 25th July 1664 to 13th July 1665.

(3) Sevajee died, according to Mill, on the 5th April 1682, aged 52. The Hejira year 1090 commenced 2d February 1679, and ended 22d January 1680, O. S.—Grant Duff fixes this event in 1680, giving the same date the 5th April. Sir J. Malcolm has 1682.

(4) 14th September 1691 to 2d September 1692.—According to Grant Duff, Sumbhajee's public execution occurred at Tolapoor in August 1689. He was taken by surprise at Sungumeshur. The date in the text corresponds with that in Scott's History of the Dukhun, and both have apparently followed Ferishta.

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Saoo, the son of Sumbha, was for some time kept under surveillance and restraint by the Dehlee sovereign, whereupon a brother of Sumbha, named Sunta,(1) set up in his stead. He was, however, captured and put to death in 1110(2) Hejira, and his head was sent to the Emperor Alumgeer, who, after a time, conferred on Saoo the title of Raja, and the grade of seven thousand, (Huft Huzaree) and sent him to his own country. There he rose to great power, and made himself master of Sutara, but held his Court principally at Poona, to which place all the inferior princes and chiefs resorted for the purpose of tendering their submission to him: as he had no children, and the sun of his years was fast moving from the East of youth to the West of age, he determined to choose from the nobles of his Court a man of wisdom and experience, to whose care the management of State affairs should be entrusted. He accordingly summoned Balajee and the rest of his eight principal Ministers, and as a test of their intelligence and capacity, laid before them three large limes, desiring them to set them one at top of the other. Seven of the eight Dewans tried in vain to do what was required, but could not guess the secret. Balajee Pundit, however, the wisest of them, the star of whose destiny was on the ascendant, peeled the limes first with his fingers, and then set the three with ease one at top of the other, putting the rind between each to keep them

(1) سنتا

Upon the death of Sumbha, Raja Ram, his half brother, was made regent by the Mahratta Chiefs, and affairs were carried on in the name of Sevajee, son of Sumbha, then an infant and a prisoner. He was known afterwards as the Saoo Raja—Saoo being a nickname, given him by Aurungzeeb. The Sunta here mentioned was Suntajee Gorpuraee, a distinguished Mahratta Officer, who, after many successes, was deserted by his followers, and murdered in 1698. There was also a Suntajee, who was a half brother of the first Sevajee, but he attained no great reputation or eminence.

(2) A. D. 1698-99—30th June to 19th June, O. S.

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steady. (1) The Raja was highly pleased, and extolled his intelligence and quickness of apprehension, and made over to him the key of all affairs, with the title of Peshwa. He then retired to Sutara,(2) where he remained until long after, and died at last a natural death. His widow then procured a boy of the family of the Raja's mother, and proclaimed him as successor, by the name of Ram Raja,(3) but he was kept all his life in surveillance at Sutara by the Peshwa, and Balajee Pundit (4) exercised supreme authority under that name at Poona. There was in his service a Bargeer,(5) with the rank of Rusaladar, with whom one Mulhar,(6) of the Holkur tribe, was living, the two being of the same caste: When Balajee was called to take the field against the Senaputee and Athara,(7) two principal officers, who refused submission, the Bargeer betrothing his daughter to Mulhar Rao, sent him with Balajee in his own room. He did good service on the occasion, and arrived at high promotion, and by degrees rose to be Soobadar, or Governor in Chief, for the Peshwa in Hindoostan. In like manner, a man named Junkoo, (8) of the Scindia tribe,

(1) The reader will not need to be told that this account of Balajee's rise is all fabulous.

(2) ستاراگڈہ (3) رام راجا (4) بالاجي پندت

(5) A Bargeer is a trooper, who rides another's horse.

(6) ملهارنامی قوم هولکر (7) سیناپت واتهارہ (8) جنکونامي

(8) It is peculiar to the confusion of Mahratta History, that the name of the founder of this family should be the subject of doubt and misrepresentation. Grant Duff and Sir John Malcolm declare Ranojee Sindheea to have filled this humble office of shoe-holder, and to have risen afterwards to the command of armies. The former mentions the year 1750, as *about* the period of his death. He left, according to this officer, three legitimate and two illegitimate sons. The names of the former were Jyapa, Duttajee, and Jooteba—of the latter, Tookajee and Mahadajee, called by Persian authors Mahajee. Junkoojee Sindheea, who was killed at Paneeput, was, according to him, the son of Jyapa. Duttajee and Jooteba were surprised, some months before, on the Abdalee's advance from Lahore, and were both slain in action.

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was serving Balajee, in the humble capacity of shoe-holder. He too rose from that low condition to the very highest honor, and become Joint Soobadar of Hindoostan. His rise happened thus: One day, having charge of the shoes as usual, he fell asleep on his post, keeping the shoes fast held against his breast. Balajee coming out, and looking for his shoes, saw Junkoo asleep, stretched at length with them carefully held in this manner. Being well pleased with this proof of his servant's fidelity, he reflected that, if in the charge of a pair of shoes, this man showed such care, as even in sleep to hold them fast to his breast, he must be worthy of higher trusts. Junkoojee waking, laid the shoes before his master, who marked him with favor from that time forward, and promoted him to successive high offices. Mulhar Rao Holkur and Junkoojee Sindheea (1) came in this manner to be principally trusted, and employed by Balajee in the administration of high affairs. Upon the death (2) of Balajee Rao, Bajee Rao, (3) his eldest son, succeeded to his power, Chimna Apa, (4) his younger brother, acting in subordination as his first officer. Raja Saoo was then living, and Bajee Rao by his order, headed two or three expeditions into Hindoostan. The history of which is as follows: (5)

In the time of Mohummud Shah, King of Dehlee, Mohummud Khan Bungush, (6) of the Furukhabad family,

(1) ملهار راو هولکر و جنکوجي سند هيه

(2) According to Sir J. Malcolm, he died in April 1720, having enjoyed the Peshwa's office only six years. Grant Duff gives the date October 1720, and in a note explains that, owing to a delay in nominating his successor, several authors had fixed the date in April 1721.

(3) باجي راو (4) چمنا اپا

(5) A new Section commences here in the original.

(6) محمد خان بنگش

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collected a large force, (1) and invaded Bundelkhund. He attacked Kalpee, (2) Mahoba, and Mow, which belonged to Raja Chhutur Sal Bundeela, (3) and then laid siege to Jeetgurh, which is near Jhunna-Punna, (4) a place also held by that Raja. The Bundeelas were driven to extremity by these proceedings. For a year and more the Bungush continued carrying fire and sword into the heart of Bundelkhund. At last Raja Chhutur Sal applied for succour in his distress to Bajee Rao Peshwa, and by order of the Saoo Raja, who was still living, that Chief marched with a force of sixty thousand horse and foot, and came to Jhunna-Punna, and there surrounding the Bungush Chief's army, cut off its supplies, and reduced it to great extremity. The Afghans becoming desperate, made an attack on the fort they were besieging while thus pressed themselves by hunger, and carried the place, but Bajee Rao cut off the supplies as before, (5) and the Afghans were reduced to sue for terms, and so returned home.

Raja Chhutur Sal being thus rid of his enemy, returned thanks to Bajee Rao for his assistance, and declared, that he had nothing worthy to be offered in requital. "But", said he, "you see I have two sons, you shall be a third to me, and here I agree to divide my country into four parts, one

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(1) A. D. 1733.

(2) كالپي ومهوبه وموهه (3) راجه چهترسال بنديله

(4) جيت گڈه متصل جهنّا پنّا

Punna noted for its diamond mines, will probably be the place referred to. There is no good account of the events which brought Bajee Rao into Bundelkhund, nor of his proceedings there. Grant Duff and Jonathan Scott are very scanty and unsatisfactory. Pogson's History of the Boondeelas contains nothing on the subject.

(5) This happened in 1732, according to Jonathan Scott, and in A. D. 1734, according to Grant Duff; the accounts of both are most meagre.

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I reserve for my own expences, do you and my other two sons each take one of the remaining three shares." Bajee Rao was well pleased with this arrangement, and coming into the terms, left one Govind, a Pundit, (1) to manage the fourth share of Bundelkhund thus allotted to him. He then returned to the Dukhun. Some years after this Raja Chhutur Sal died, when his two sons (2) not satisfied with their father's disposition of his territories, quarrelled about the division of the inheritance. The eldest son attached himself to Mohummud Shah of Dehlee, and getting the betterof his younger brother, expelled him from all the possessions given to him by his father. He went in his distress to the Saoo Raja, and promised a sum of money, as the condition of obtaining aid in the restoration of his inheritance. Bajee Rao went again into Bundelkhund upon this invitation with a large force, and was met there by the elder brother, aided by a Royal army, under Giridhur Naga, (3) the Soobadar of Allahabad. The Mahrattas were successful and plundered all Bundelkhund, and after levying large sums as tribute, returned to the Dukhun. Giridhur Naga was killed in battle with them, fighting bravely. This happened in the Hejira year 1140. (4)

After a period, viz. in the 19th year of the reign of Mohummud Shah, 1149 (5) of the Hejira, Bajee came a third time into Hindoostan, bringing with him Mulhar Rao

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(1) گوبند نامي پندت

(2) The names of the sons were Jugut Rajdeo, and Herdesa, or Hurdeo.

(3) گرد هر ناکه

(4) 8th August 1727 to 27th July 1728.—This date must be an error—see above; but there is great confusion in all the accounts of these transactions.

(5) A. D. 1736.—1st May to 20th April 1737.

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Holkur and Junkoojee Sindheea. He went first into Goojrat with a great army, and placed some garrisons there, after which, crossing the Nurbuda, he came to Oojein, (1) where Sewaee Jysingh of Jypoor, was stationed. Here these Chiefs met and joined forces, in consequence of which it was generally supposed, that the Mahrattas had come in this instance by Raja Jysingh's invitation. The Soobahdaree of Malwa, the revenues of which Jysingh had for some time appropriated to himself, was now made over to Bajee Rao, as the price of his friendship, and promise of succour in case of need. Bajee Rao gave the Pergunnas of Muheshur and Indor (2) to Mulhar Rao Holkur, and Oojein and Hindia (3) to Junkoojee Sindheea, as Jageers, in reward of their respective services, and then advanced to Gwalior, (4) where he placed a garrison, and after regulating the tribute of all the principal Rajas and Chiefs of the two Soobas of Ajmeer and Agra, (5) he attacked Gohud, (6) and lay two months before it. After settling affairs there, he moved to Bhind and Atèr (7) in Bhudawur, and plundered both places, getting an immense booty, besides levying a heavy contribution on the Bhudoureea Raja. He next proposed to cross the Jumna into the Dooab, but the Nuwab Munsoor Ulee Khan (8) of Lukhnou, was at Shikohabad, (9) and opposed the

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(1) اوجین (2) مهیشرواندور (3) اوجین وهنڈیا

(4) گوالیار (5) اجمیرواگرہ (6) گوهد

(7) بهندواٹیر علاقه بهداور

(7) The Bhudawur or Bhudoureea Raja's territory, lies between the Chumbul and the Jumna, S. E. from Agra.

(8) نواب منصورعلي خان والی لکهنو (9) شکوہ آباد

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passage, killing four or five hundred Mahrattas who ventured over. Bajee Rao himself received in this affair a severe hurt in the foot; whereupon giving up this design he turned towards Delhee, and plundered there the Mela (Fair) of Kalka, (1) where immense crowds of people were assembled, (2) and then returned to the Dukhun. The Royal forces being by this time collected, went after him in pursuit, and compelled him to retreat with all speed by the road of Oojein.

Bajee Rao (3) dying soon after, Balajee (4) the second, surnamed Nanha, his eldest son, succeeded to the honors and rank of Peshwa. Rughoonath Rao, (5) the younger brother, submitted to him, and Shumsheer Buhadoor, a half brother, by a Moosulman dancing girl, also took office under him. Nanha Peshwa had three sons—Biswas, or Wiswas Rao, Madhoo Rao, and Nurayun Rao. (6) Chimna Apa, son of the first Balajee Rao, died childless, but he had adopted one of his relations, who was known by the name of the Bhao. (7)

In the Hejira year 1158, (8) Sewaee Jysingh (9) of Jypoor died, and was succeeded by Eeshuree Singh, (10) son of the

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(1) میله کالکا

(2) { A. H. 1149 / A. D. 1736 } Ferishta gives the same date for this event.

(3) Bajee Rao died, accordingly to Grant Duff, on the 28th April, 1740, on the banks of the Nurbuda.

(4) بالاجي ثاني مسمي نانها (5) رگناتهه راو

or more properly رگهوناتهه راو

(6) بسواس راو-مادهوراو-نراين راو

(7) His name was Suda Sheeo Raô Bhaô. سدا شيوراو بهاو

(8) A. D. 1745.—23d January to 13th January 1746, O. S.

(9) سواي جيسنگه راجه جي پور (10) ايشري سنگه

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Rathor Ranee:(1) his brother Madhoo Singh,(2) whose mother was of the Oodeepoor, or Seesodee(3) family, contrived to escape to Oodeepoor, where Rana Jugut Singh,(4) his mother's brother's son, took up his cause. The Rana sent a Khutree, named Keshoo Rao,(5) to solicit Nanha Peshwa to espouse also the cause of Madhoo Singh, promising a crore of rupees as the price of Madhoo Singh's elevation to the Guddee of Jypoor. Mulhar Rao Holkur was accordingly sent with a large army into Oodeepoor, and there had an interview with Rana Jugut Singh, when the two Chiefs exchanged turbands, and the Rana confirmed and renewed what had been promised on his part by Keshoo Rao. Mulhar Rao then commenced hostilities against Eeshuree Singh, with whom the war lasted a long time. But as the settlement of this affair was beyond Mulhar Rao's means, he contented himself with plundering Jypoor, Mewar, and Malwa.(6) While he was thus employed, Raja Eeshuree Singh, intending treachery, invited to Jypoor Keshoo Rao Khutree, who was at the time with Mulhar Rao, and spared nothing to win him to come within his power. Keshoo Rao asked Mulhar Rao's permission to go, and notwithstanding the dissuasion of that Chief, who warned him that no good could come of his going, he insisted on accepting the invitation, and, as his time was come, went. Eeshuree Singh immediately seized Keshoo Rao, and compelled him to take poison. This action, however, gave disgust to the State Officers of Jypoor, who put themselves in commu-

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(1) راني راتهور (2) مادهوسنگه (3) اودیپورسیسودي

(4) راناجگت سنگه (5) کیشوراوکهتري .

(6) جي پور میوار مالوه

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nication with Madhoo Singh, and invited Mulhar Rao Holkur, who lay at the time at Boondee.(1) The Mahrattas marched to Sanganeer,(2) and laid a plan for seizing Raja Eeshuree Singh; who, finding his own Officers estranged from him, saw no remedy but himself also to take poison, which he did, and so put an end to himself. God be praised! How wondrous are his ways! As a man sows, so shall he reap. The treachery which poisoned the cup of Keshoo Rao Khutree, was returned by a just retribution upon Eeshuree Singh himself, who administered the bowl. Who has been guilty of the like, and has not suffered? Thus, in the Hejira year 1165,(3) Madhoo Singh was raised to the Musnud of Jypoor, and Mulhar Rao marched away. The new Raja hesitating to fulfil the agreement under which the Mahrattas had taken up his cause, Mulhar Rao placed garrisons in Tonk, Toda, and Malpoora,(4) and himself returned to Muheshur.

Next year active hostilities were commenced between Nuwab Munsoor Ulee Khan, of Lukhnou, and Ahmed Khan Bungush,(5) of Furukhabad. Raja Newul Raee,(6) Deputy of the former, was defeated and slain in battle, and the Bungush plundered his rival's territory, as far as Allahabad, and took possession of it. The Lukhnou Soobahdar sought refuge at Dehlee, and wrote to Mulhar

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(1) بوندي (2) سانگانير

(3) A. D. 1751.—9th November, O. S. to 7th November 1752, N. S. It was in this year, viz. in September 1752, that 11 days were struck out of the Calendar, and the new style established in England by Act of Parliament.

(4) ٹونک ٹوڈہ مالپورہ (5) احمد خان بنگش

(6) راجہ نول راي

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Rao Holkur for aid, promising a large sum as the condition of his effecting the ruin of the Bungush. Accordingly, in 1165(1) Hejira, Mulhar Rao came with a large army to Kalpee, where crossing the Jumna, he entered the Furukhabad(2) territory, and plundered Mow and Shumsabad,(3) razing both places to the ground. Hearing of his arrival, Munsoor Ulee Khan came also with a large force from Dehlee, to act against Furukhabad, and Ahmed Khan being overpowered, took refuge in the hills of Kumaon,(4) where being received by the Raja, the extreme ruggedness of the country precluded further pursuit. Mulhar Rao, with Munsoor Ulee, followed to the very foot of the hills, but deeming it impossible to enter them, an accommodation was mediated by the Rohilla Hafiz Ruhmut Khan Hafiz ul Moolk.(5) Mulhar Rao received for this service from Munsoor Ulee sixty lacks of rupees and half of the Bungush's territory. The other half was restored to Ahmed Khan, and Munsoor Ulee resumed his government of Lukhnou.

Mulhar Rao returned to the Dukhun after this arrangement. In 1172(6) Hejira, the Bhao, who had been adopted by Chimna Apa, Bajee Rao's brother, as above related, bringing with him Wiswas Rao, son of Balajee, came upon the invitation of Sooruj Mul Jat,(7) of Bhurtpoor, with the intention of seating themselves on the

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(1) A. D. 1752.—8th November to 29th October 1753.

(2) فرخ آباد (3) مئو شمس آباد (4) کماون

(5) حافظ رحمت خان روهیله حافظ الملک

(6) A. D. 1758.—24th August to 14th August 1759.

(7) سورجمل جاٹ بهرتپور والہ

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throne of Dehlee. The Jât, in the fallen state of the house of Tymoor, had been engaged in hostilities with Nujuf Khan Ameer-ool-Omra, (1) an Afghan, who was then manager of the affairs of the King, and in the course of operations had laid siege to Dehlee. Hence the hopes of the Hindoos rose high: an immense army came up from Poona, in which both Mulhar Rao Holkur and Junkoojee Sindheea, with their forces, formed a part. The Mahratta army was still on its way, when Sooruj Mul was killed in the trenches before Dehlee, and his army broke up and returned to Bhurtpoor. On the other hand, by the invitation of Nujeeb-ood-Doula, Ahmed Shah Dooranee (2) was on his march into Hindoostan, and had already crossed the Atuk. (3)

The Bhao, with Wiswas Rao, advanced by rapid marches, and took up a position at Paneeput. (4) The Dooranee Shah came also and took post at a short distance from the Mahratta army, and most of the Mahommedan lords of the Dehlee Court, such as Ahmed Khan Bungush, Doondee Khan, (5) Hafiz Ruhmut Khan, and also Nuwab Shooja-ood-Doula, (6) joined their forces to those of the King of Kabool. (7) The Mahrattas, thinking themselves over-matched, threw up a Sungur, (8) that is, a ditch and palisades, for their defence at Paneeput. Ahmed Shah thereupon surrounded the Dukhun army,

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(1) نجف خان امیرالامرا

(2) نجیب خان نجیب الدوله — احمد شاه درانی

(3) اٹک (4) پانی پت (5) دوندیخان

(6) نواب شجاع الدوله (7) کابل (8) سنکر

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and at last a great battle (1) was fought, in which the Bhao himself, Wiswas Rao, and Junkoojee Sindheea, were all slain, and the Mahrattas sustained a total defeat. Mulhar Rao Holkur, by great good fortune, escaped safe, and got out of the way with his troops, until the Dooranee Shah returned to Kabool, where he died.

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(1) This battle was fought on the 7th January 1761, and the loss of the Mahrattas is estimated at not less than two hundred thousand men. For a full account of it, see the third volume of the Asiatic Researches, which contains a translation by Lieutenant Colonel James Browne, of a minute description of the whole by Kashee Ram Pundit, in the service of Shooja-ood-Doula. Grant Duff says, that the Bhao placed his wife under Mulhar Rao's charge with secret instructions: that, seeing, Wiswas Rao slain, and the battle going against him, he determined not to survive, and sent a message to Mulhar Rao to do as he had been ordered, whereupon this Chief immediately left the field.

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BOOK THE SECOND.

CHAPTER II.

1761 to 1773.

Mahratta History continued, from the Battle of Paneeput to the Assassination of Narayun Rao Peshwa.

WHEN the effect of this great event had somewhat subsided, Mulhar Rao Holkur appeared again in the field, and commenced by laying siege to Koomher, (1) on the plea that Juwahur Singh, (2) Sooruj Mul's son and successor on the Guddee of Bhurtpoor, had held back from the Mahratta cause so as to have occasioned the defeat at Paneeput. Khundee Rao (3) Holkur, Mulhar's son, was killed in the trenches during this siege, and Juwahur Singh making apologies for his conduct and paying a money contribution, procured the return of Mulhar Rao to the Dukhun.

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(1) کومهیر (2) جواهرسنگه (3) کنهدی را وهولکر اهلیه بائی

(2) Khundee Rao was the husband of Ahlcea Baee, whose history figures so prominently in Sir John Malcolm's Central India. According to this Officer, Khundee Rao's death occurred some years *before* the battle of Paneeput. He gives in the margin the date 1754 for the event.

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Nanha Peshwa felt such affliction at the disaster of Paneeput, and particularly at the loss of his son Wiswas Rao, that it broke his heart, and he died of grief. Madhoo Rao, his second son, who was somewhat younger than Wiswas Rao, succeeded to the Peshwa's rank and power, and Nurayun Rao, the third son, submitted to his brother.

It was about the same time that Nujeeb Khan Ameer-ool-Omra(1) died at Dehlee, and faction there ran higher than ever—the Royal authority being no where respected. Juwahur Singh took this opportunity to revenge his father's death; and drawing out his troops, invited Mulhar Rao Holkur to join in an attack upon Dehlee. The latter, accordingly, marched into Hindoostan with a large army, in the Hejira year 1173,(2) and uniting with Juwahur Singh, they together took the fort of Agra, and Juwahur Singh's garrison was established there. Advancing thence to Dehlee, they forced a contribution from Shah Alum, and a cession of Agra by Sunud.(3) Then returning by the route of Jypoor, Madhoo Singh, who, after the Mahratta defeat at Paneeput, had possessed himself of Tonk, Toda, and the other places heretofore garrisoned by Mulhar Rao, was compelled to give to Holkur a Sunud for Tonk, and to surrender the Pergunnah of Rampoora(4) to Oodeepoor, in lieu of Toda, Malpoora, &c. Mulhar Rao left a garrison again in Tonk, and returned to the Dukhun.

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(1) نجیب خان امیرالامرا

(1) Nujeeb Khan Nujeeb-ood-doula, died in October 1770.

(2) A. D. 1759. 25th August to 12th August 1760. This date would make these events anterior to the battle of Paneeput. There is an error of three or four years.

(3) سند *Sunud*, a deed of grant.

(4) رامپورہ

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Jyapa, (1) the eldest son, succeeded Junkojee Sindheea upon his death at Paneeput, and Ranoojee, the younger son, submitted to him. Madhoo Rao Peshwa sent Jyapa with a large army against Joudhpoor. (2) Jyapa, accordingly, penetrated into Marwar, (3) and besieged both Joudhpoor and Nagor. (4) Bijye Singh, (5) the Rajah of Joudhpoor, was in person at Nagore; accordingly, Jyapa, leaving a smaller force to watch Joudhpoor, pushed the siege of Nagor with vigour. Bijye Singh was reduced to great straights, so much so, as to fear for the loss of his Raj altogether. He, accordingly, adopted the following expedient to relieve himself. He hired two assassins to murder Jyapa, promising them a large reward. These two men going into the Mahratta camp pretended to quarrel, and were clamorous in altercation. The men of the camp professed that they could not understand the dispute, and the disputants claimed to be taken before Jyapa, that he might settle it. Accordingly they were taken to Jyapa, who sent for them on hearing of the circumstances. They professed both to be desirous to tell their story to Jyapa, who called them nearer to him, that he might hear more distinctly. When they thought themselves close enough, both at the

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(1) جی اپا-رانوجی

(1) According to Grant Duff, Jyapa was the father, instead of the son, of Junkojee.—See the note at page 53. He seems to have succeeded Ranojee as head of the family, and some time before the battle of Paneeput, while Eesburee Singh still ruled in Jypoor, engaged in an expedition to reinstate Raja Ram Singh, who had been expelled by his uncle Raja Bukht, from Joudhpoor. Raja Bukht died by poison, and his son Bijye Singh was defeated at Meertha and fled to Nagor, where he stood a long siege, and planned at last the assassination of Jyapa. Junkojee, who was taken prisoner and put to death after the battle of Paneeput, succeeded as head of the family. Then Khedarba, over whom Mahajee prevailed.

(2) جودهپور (3) مارواړ (4) ناگور (5) بجي سنگه

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same instant drew concealed daggers, and rushing on Jyapa, killed him on the spot. The army then fell into confusion and broke up from before Nagor.

Ranojee Sindheea no sooner heard of his brother's death, and of the treachery practised by Bijye Singh, (1) than his heart burned with rage and sorrow. Collecting a large army, with a heavy artillery, he marched from the Dukhun, to be revenged, and plundered, and laid waste the whole Joudhpoor territory. Bijye Singh was thus compelled to surrender the Soobah of Ajmeer (2) to Ranojee, and agreed to pay besides a tribute of a lakh and a half of rupees. Ranojee left a garrison of his own in Ajmeer, and returned to the Dukhun.

Upon Mulhar Rao's departure from Rajisthan, (3) the Rajpoots, instigated by Madhoo Singh, of Jypoor, expelled his garrison from Tonk. Accordingly, in the Hejira year 1178, (4) Mulhar Rao came again with a large army against that place, and laid formal siege to Bhoomgurh, (5) as the citadel was then called, which has been rebuilt, and is now named Ameergurh, (6) and has been made the the Ameer's palace. After fifteen days' open trenches he marched off to Perawa, (7) then also belonging to Jypoor, and besieging it, levied a contribution, after which he returned to Tonk, and continued the siege of Bhoomgurh for three months, until it fell, and was razed to the ground. Mulhar Rao then again left a garrison in Tonk,

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(1) بجي سنگه (2) اجمير (3) رجستهان

(4) A. D. 1764. 1st July to 19th June, 1765.

(5) بهوم گڈه (6) اميرگڈه (7) پڑاوه

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and proceeded to Jypoor, upon which place he levied tribute. He then turned towards Bundelkhund, and died a natural death(1) at Alumpoor,(2) near Jaloun.

Mulhar Rao had no son, but Khundee Rao, who was killed at the siege of Koomher, as before related. Upon this Chief's death, therefore, Ahlcea Baee, Khundee Rao's widow, who was in the Dukhun, adopted one Tukoojee,(3) a person of the same cast and tribe with her husband and father-in-law, and raised him to be the head of the Holkur family and fortunes. It was about this time that Madhoo Rao Peshwa died,(4) and Rughoonath Rao,(5) son of Bajee Rao, was placed on the Guddee. Nurayun Rao, Madhoo Rao's younger brother, acted as his principal officer, (Peshkar) and Nanha Phurnuvees and Sukha Ram(6) continued to be Dewans, as in the time of Madhoo Rao. Ranojee Sindheea dying also, Mahajee,(7) his natural son, became the head of that family through the favor of the Phurnuvees, to the prejudice of the claims of Manajee Phatkura,(8) the heir by legiti-

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(1) The exact date of Mulhar Rao Holkur's death is no where stated. It must have been about 1765.—Sir J. Malcolm says, he died at the age of 76, after 40 years hard service in command of the most active of the Mahratta armies. At page 120, vol. 1, of his Central India, he mentions three years after the battle of Paneeput, which would give about 1764, for the date of this event.

(2) عالمپور متصل جالون (3) تکوجي

(4) Madhoo Rao Peshwa died on the 18th November 1772.

(5) رگهوناتهه راو (6) نانها پهرنو يس—سکهارام

(7) مها جي سندهيه

(7) This name is generally so written in Persian. In English it has many varieties. Grant Duff writes Mahadajee, Sir J. Malcolm Madhajee, others Madhojee. In the Sunuds, obtained by Mahajee from Dehlee, his titles run thus:—"Raja Muharaj, *Madhoo Rao* Sindheea, Mudar-ool-Muham, Aleejah Buhadur."

(8) ماناجي پهاٹکره

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mate descent. Mahajee's younger brother Khedarjee,(1) remained with him as first officer. This happened in 1192(2) of the Hejira.

Rughoonath Rao Peshwa being a man of ambition, felt a desire to emulate his nephew Wiswas Rao, who had aimed at the throne of Hindoostan, but had fallen in action with the Dooranee Shah, as related in the preceding Chapter. It seemed to him that now that throne was vacant, and there was nothing to prevent success. He accordingly resolved on another attempt on Dehlee, and leaving Nurayun Rao as locum tenens at Poona, with Nauha Phurnuvees and Sukha Ram as Dewans, assisted by Tukoojee Holkur, to carry on affairs in the Dukhun, he marched himself with a large army and strong artillery, taking with him Mahajee Sindheea, and proceeded first against Gohud, the Rana of which place had been troublesome to the garrison left in Gwalior. Mahajee Sindheea grew suspicious of Rughoonath, and was secretly in the interest of Nurayun Rao. He was accordingly lukewarm in the operations againt Gohud, and made an arrangement with the Rana on easy terms. Rughoonath Rao, looking upon Mahajee's conduct in the matter as a slight to his authority, sent him to attack Puthurgurh,(3) a strong hill fort, and returning in all haste to the Dukhun, found there his nephew, Nurayun Rao, established in full authority as Peshwa, and in a condition to refuse any recognition of his superiority. Rughoonath Rao sought the means of unseating his nephew and re-establishing

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(1) کھدارجی

(2) A. D. 1778. 30th January to 18th January, 1779.

(3) پتھرگڈھ

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himself in the supremacy, but failed in the attempt, in consequence of the influence of Nanha Phurnuvees, the Dewan, who was in the interest of Nurayun Rao. Rughoonath Rao wasted away with grief and disappointment at this failure of his plans. His wife, (1) however, was the most cunning woman of the age, and she won over one Poornea Gardee, Darogha (2) of the Peshwa's artillery, by large bribes and promises, to circumvent and destroy Nurayun Rao. Accordingly one day as Nurayun Rao was coming out of his Muhul, that is, the apartments of his wife, after dinner, the men attached to this officer attacked him treacherously and killed him. They say that the young Peshwa was pursued by his executioners into the very presence of Rughoonath Rao, and wounded as he was, threw his arms about his uncle's neck, declaring they were murdering him without cause or necessity, that he had no desire for the supreme authority, and was ready to resign it. Rughoonath's heart softened with compassion, and he begged that his nephew's life might be spared, but the murderers thinking their own lives would be the forfeit, if they left their work half done, paid no attention to Rughoonath's intreaties, but finished the young man (3) even in his uncle's arms. Upon his death, Rughoonath Rao became Peshwa, with full authority: not having then any children, he adopted Umrit Rao, his relation.

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(1) Anuntia Baee was her name, and she is reported to have been very beautiful, but most wicked.

(2) پورنیه گاردي

This name may be Poorbea Gardee. Soomer Singh and Mohummud Yoosuf, with Khuruk Singh, were the principal conspirators. Poorbea Gardee, would merely imply that the men were of the palace guard entertained in Hindoostan, or some country lying East of Poona.

(3) This murder was perpetrated on the 30th August 1773.

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BOOK THE SECOND.

CHAPTER III.

1773 to 1788.

Mahratta history continued—state of parties after the death of Nurayun Rao—Rughoonath deposed—Mahajee Sindheea's history to the death of Gholam Kadir.

NANHA Phurnuvees was close linked with the fortunes of Nurayun Rao Peshwa, and took his assassination much to heart; but as Mahajee Sindheea was still engaged in the siege of Puthurgurh, he dissembled and kept his designs secret, Mahajee Sindheea was compelled soon after to break up from before Puthurgurh, and returned to the Dukhun by the route of Oojein.

Sukha Ram, the second Dewan of the Peshwa's Government, thinking the time favorable, made his peace with Rughoonath Rao, and joined that party; and at his instigation Manajee Phatkura, (1) the second son of Ranojee Sind-

(1) مانا جي پها تكرة

(1) I do not find in Sir John Malcolm any mention of this Pretender. Khedarjee or Khedarba, son of an elder brother, is said to have contested the Guddee with Mahajee. But there is the authority of a letter of Colonel Palmer, Resident at Poona, for the fact that Rughoonath Rao conferred the Sindheea Jageers on Mana Phakray to Mahajee's prejudice.—See note to page 207, vol. II., of Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas.

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heea, by a woman of the same caste with himself, was sent for and received a (Khilat) dress of honor from Rughoonath Rao, and the appointment of Soobadar of Hindoostan, in supercession of Mahajee, the before recognized head of that family. Notice of Mahajee's disgrace was sent at the same time in writing to Raghoo Mankha (1) and other Surdars of Mahajee's army, with orders for them to assist in transferring the Government of Oojein to Manajee Phatkura. The newly appointed Soobah was already on the road, and Raghoo Mankha acting upon these orders broke off from Mahajee, and was preparing for his reception at Oojein, when Mahajee attacking the latter, a battle ensued, in which Mahajee was at first worsted, but in a second action a body of 5000 Goosaeens, coming opportunely from the invisible world as it were, took part with Mahajee, and gave him a complete victory; Raghoo Mankha (1) being slain in the action.

Manajee Phatkura hearing of this event turned back towards Poona, and Nanha Phurnuvees who was of Mahajee's party, sent ten lakhs of rupees to assist in recruiting his army. He at the same time treacherously advised Rughoonath to make an invasion of the territories of Nizam Ulee Khan of Hyderabad, persuading him that the time was favorable for success in that quarter. The Phurnuvees's real object in this advice was, by some means to get Rughoonath Rao away from Poona, when he hoped by intrigue and faction to make it impossible for him to return. The Peshwa was deceived by his artifices, and the forces of Rughoojee Ghoosla being joined to his own, both commenced operations against Nizam Ulee.

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(1) راگھومانکہا

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But Rughoonath Rao had no sooner gone than the Nanha invited Mahajee Sindheea with his forces, and gave out that Nurayun Rao's wife was with child, and that if a boy, the child was the true heir, and must sit on the Musnud of the Peshwas. He went so far as to proclaim the unborn son by the name of Muharaja Gurbh-basee, which means the Muharaja in the womb, and carried on affairs in that name.

Rughoonath Rao, in the mean time, without any decided action taking place, was yet unsuccessful in the operations against Hydurabad, and was ultimately compelled to retreat; but hearing of what was passing at Poona he feared to shew himself there, and retired to Kandes, whence he applied to the English (1) for assistance. Two armies accordingly came to his aid, one under General Leicester(2) marched direct upon Poona, while another came down to his support from Seronj. Nanha Phurnuvees, who was an experienced politician, and cunning as a fox, wrote upon this to Rughoonath Rao—" If you call in the English army be the consequences upon your head. I shall be compelled to lay waste the whole Poona territory and to retire before it, and what will you or they gain." The English hearing of this plan being in agita-

(1) A. D. 1775.

(2) The name here introduced can refer only to Col. Leslie, to whom Mr. Hastings at first assigned the command of the force, that was ordered down from Hindoostan in 1778 through Bundelkhund, to operate against the Mahrattas in the Dukhun. He failing to make progress, the command was afterwards given to General Goddard, who executed the scheme with great success. The officers who commanded the armies directed against Poona from Bombay, were first, Col. Keating, then Col. Egerton and a Committee, and Col. Upton intermediately was sent to Poona to negociate. Mr. afterwards Sir Charles Malet, was finally established at Poona as Resident. There is no name like Leicester amongst those employed on the side of Bombay.

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tion, recommended a peace, and Rughoonath accordingly made propositions to the Phurnuvees, which were met on his part by an offer to furnish funds for Rughoonath's expences, if he would wait with his party at Kopergaon, (1) till it should be seen whether the child of the widow of Nurayun Rao was a boy; that if it were so, the infant should succeed as Peshwa, but if the child were a girl, Rughoonath should be restored to power. Rughoonath Rao accepted these terms, and the English armies retired: but they had no sooner gone, than the Nanha broke the conditions and refused to surrender Kopergaon, and kept the Peshwa, with his family, in a kind of surveillance within the fort of Dhoorup. When the appointed time for the birth of the child (2) arrived in the Hejira year 1190, (3) Sewaee Madhoo Rao was born of the widow of Nurayun Rao, (Gunga Baee). Some say that the child was provided by Nanha Phurnuvees, and that the birth was a cheat, and God only knows the real truth.

Rughoonath was for some years shut up in the fort of Dhoorup, (4) and in that interval had two children by his wife. They were named Bajee Rao, (5) who was after-

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(1) کوپیرگانون

(2) Madhoo Rao Nurayun was born on the 18th April 1774. There is thus an error of at least two years in the date here given. The transactions of eight eventful years are very summarily dispatched in these two pages. The author is, however, excusable for having failed in this part of his history; for the confusion of Grant Duff's account of this Mahratta war shows what the attempt to be explicit might have led to.

(3) A. D. 1776.—21st February to 8th February 1777.

(4) د هورپ

(5) Bajee Rao, the eldest son of Rughoonath, was born in the fort of Dhar in Malwa, at the very beginning of the above war in January 1775.

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wards Peshwa, and Chimna Apa, the second of that name also in the family. Nanha Phurnuvees having in this interval completely established his own authority, brought Rughoonath and his family from Dhoorup, and settled them at Kopergaon on the Gunga Godavuree.(1) It was in the course of these events that Major Pyne(2) (Popham,) went with some battalions by invitation of the Gohud Rana, (3) to attack Gwalior, (4) and having opened trenches against the fort, got the better of the garrison and took the place, which the English Government thereupon gave over to the Rana. An English army also marched to Seronj, in prosecution of hostilities against the Mahratta power; and Mahajee Sindheea hearing of these events, took his leave of the infant Peshwa and of Nanha Phurnuvees, and marched with a formidable army to Oojein, whence he afterwards advanced to Seronj. But instead of a battle ensuing, peace(5) was concluded between him and the English: which the Rana of Gohud seeing, he also wrote to Mahajee, that he was now sensible that no good was to be got by having to do with the Furingees, that he desired therefore to be readmitted to his friendship, and was ready to restore Gwalior(6) as the price of peace. Mahajee Sindheea

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(1) گنگاگوداوری (2) میجر پاین (3) گوهد

(4) This is a mistake. Gwalior was, on this occasion, taken by surprize in a night attack on the 3d August 1780. Major Popham was encamped more than twenty miles off, and never fired a cannon against the place.

(5) The treaty of Salbye, whereby a general pacification was effected with all the Mahratta Powers, must be the transaction here referred to. It was concluded by Mr. D. Anderson on the 17th May 1782, and ratified at Calcutta on the 6th June, but not at Poona till December following, and the ratifications were only finally exchanged on the 24th February 1783.

(6) Mahajee's recovery of Gwalior, and other acquisitions from the Rana of Gohud, were the result of several years' Military operations, during or rather at the close of which Benoit De Boigne first became known to Mahajee.

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agreed to these terms, and thereupon the English army returned to the territories of that nation, and the Rana, having restored Gwalior, had an interview with Mahajee; but conceiving some suspicions, he suddenly fled across the Chumbul to Kuroulee,(1) whither Mahajee pursued him with his army, and ultimately obtaining possession of his person, confined him in the fort of Gwalior.

About this time Zoolfikar-ood-Doula Nujuf Khan, (2) a principal officer, and indeed prime minister of Shah Alum, died, and Agha Shufeea, (3) his sister's son, obtained the chief authority at Dehlee. He, however, after a short interval, marched away and united his party with Afrasiab Khan, (4) Nujuf Khan's Chela, who was at Futehpoor Seekree. (5) Agha Shufeea being a hasty passionate man soon gave offence, and ill-will arose between the two, whereupon Afrasiab Khan invited Mohummud Beg Humdanee, (6) a principal officer of the deceased Nujuf Khan, who was living on a Jagheer he had obtained at Dholpoor Baree, (7) and joining with him, procured by his advice the treacherous assassination of Agha Shufeea by the agency of Ismaeel Beg, (8) a nephew of the Humdanee. Afrasiab and Mohummud Beg, however, could agree no better and quarrelled for the ascendancy, whereupon the Goosaeen Himmut Behadoor, another of Nujuf Khan's officers, thought the opportunity

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(1) كرولى (2) ذوالفقار الدوله نجف خان

(2) Nujuf Khan, who succeeded Nujeeb-ood-Doula in the title and authority of Ameer-ool-Omra, died on the 22d April 1782.

(3) اغا شفيع (4) افراسياب خان

(5) فتحپورسيكري (6) محمد بيگ همداني

(7) دهولپور باري (8) اسمعيل بيگ

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favorable for his own rise. Observing therefore that Nujuf Koolee, (1) Nujuf Khan's other Chela, was at Kanor, (2) in the Rewaree (3) country, where he had a Jagheer, and that Afrasiab and the Humdanee were at daggers drawn, he wrote to Mahajee Sindheea to point out that the time was favorable for him, and to invite him to the neighbourhood. Mahajee accordingly crossed from Gwalior to the north of the Chumbul. A Chela of Agha Shufeea, named Zyn-ool-Abudeen Khan, formed a conspiracy to circumvent and slay Afrasiab Khan, (4) and succeeded, whereupon the troops of that Chief went over to Mahajee Sindheea. The Mahratta Chief then advanced to Futehpoor Seekree, where he had an action with Ahmed Beg Humdanee, and defeated and brought him to submission. Mahajee then advanced to Dehlee, where he had an audience of the King Shah Alum, and obtained a Sunud for the fort and town of Agra. Taking the King with him, Mahajee went next against Raja Purtab Sing (5) of Jypoor, and exacted from him sixty lakhs of rupees as tribute due. The King then returned to Dehlee, while Sindheea proceeded to Muthra. Here he received an invitation from Burda Singh of Kishengurh,(6) to espouse the cause of Man Singh,(7) the son of Prithee Singh,(8) of Jypoor, by a daughter of Burda Singh, who being senior to Purtab

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(1) نجف قلی (2) کانور (3) ریواری

(4) 23d October 1785.—Afrasiab Khan has the credit of having invited Mahajee Sindheea in this instance; and as the latter benefitted by the assassination, he is not exempt from suspicion of having connived at it.

(5) راجه پرتاب سنگه (6) بردا سنگه کشنگڈه واله

(7) مانسنگه (8) پرتهي سنگه

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Singh, was entitled to the Guddee in preference, but had been excluded by the intrigues of his half-brother, and of the Jypoor Nobles and State Officers. A crore of rupees was promised as the price of Man Singh's elevation. Mahajee, upon this, moved against Jypoor, and advanced to Lal Sonth and Tonka.(1) The Humdanee Mohummud Beg, who, with his troops, had been attached to the division of Mahajee's army, commanded by Khundojee,(2) Ambajee Inglia's brother, and then a principal officer of Sindheea's, and who was employed in the operations against Khychheewara,(3) deserted to Jypoor soon after the fall of that place. Whereupon Raja Purtab Singh being thus reinforced, and having summoned to his aid a body of Rathôrs (4) from Joudhpoor, advanced to meet Mahajee in the field. In the battle which ensued, a shot struck a tree under which the Humdanee was standing, and he was killed by its fall, thus showing the justice of the ways of Providence, and affording another instance of the retribution which awaits bad actions. Night came on without any decisive result. During the night, a Captain of Sindheea's, by name Sheeoo Singh, who had been tampered with by the Humdanee, went over to Jypoor with an entire brigade that he commanded, and Mahajee, in consequence, instead of renewing the battle, next morning retreated by the way of Bhurtpoor to Agra. Ismaeel Beg, who had succeeded his uncle the Humdanee Mohummud Beg, in the command of the Jypoor forces, advanced towards Agra and defeated Mahajee, who retreating before him towards Gwalior, was pursued as far as Dholpoor. Trenches were also opened against

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(1) لعل سونتهه – تونکا (2) کهندوجی برادر انباجي انکليه

(3) کهيچي وارّه (4) راتهور

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the fort of Agra, but another division of Sindheea's forces, under Ranee Khan, (1) coming up from a different direction, relieved the place. Ismaeel Beg, however, returning from Dholpoor Baree, again possessed himself of the town of Agra, and drove off Ranee Khan towards Bhurtpoor, and so resumed the siege of the fort.

It was during this interval of reverse to the Sindheea fortune that Gholam Kadir, (2) son of Zabita Khan, (3) of Ghousgurh, came to Dehlee and forced his way into the city. As he was a turbulent factious man, and opposed the Royal authority, and yet was too powerful to be put down by open force, Shah Alum, holding out prospects of ambition and conquest, induced him to march on an expedition with the Begum Sumroo's (4) battalions, then serving the Royal cause. But he had no sooner crossed the Jumna with them, than, at the King's instigation, they broke into mutiny and tumult; whereupon he returned and opened his guns on the Royal palace, and then, with a force of twenty-five thousand horse and foot, marched away alone and made himself master of Uleegurh. He thence moved to Agra and joined Ismaeel Beg, and making an agreement with him for an equal partition of conquests, both marched against Mahajee Sindheea's General, Ranee Khan. They brought him to action at Chaksoo, (5) about five kos from Bhurtpoor, and utterly defeated him, though he had been reinforced by troops

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(1) رانی خان (2) غلام قادر (3) ضابطه خان جاگیردار غوث گڈھ
(4) بیگم سمرو (5) چاکسو

(5) 24th April 1788.—De Boigne was in this action, and a Mr. Listenaux, a Frenchman, commanded the Jât Infantry. They were ill-supported by the Cavalry, and so the day was lost, but their corps retired unbroken from the field.

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from Bhurtpoor, and notwithstanding also, that several of Ismaeel Beg's principal officers, such as Mulik Mohummud, and the Furingee Ekdust, went over with four battalions from Ismaeel Beg before the action. Ranee Khan took refuge in Bhurtpoor. Ismaeel Beg and Gholam Kadir after this victory, having taken Ranee Khan's artillery, came against Bhurtpoor; whereupon Ranee Khan retired to Koomher, whither he was pursued, and successive assaults were made on the place without success by the Mahommedan Generals. They then returned to Agra, and set up the Prince Meerza Juwan Bukht against his father, Shah Alum, and sent him towards Dehlee. The Prince came to Koel by the route of Sekundra,(1) when the two Generals quarrelled, and Gholam Kadir separating from Ismaeel Beg, returned alone to Uleegurh.

Hearing of these events, Mahajee Sindheea marched from Gwalior to Agra, and defeated Ismaeel Beg, (2) who fled with a few followers to Uleegurh, where a reconciliation took place between him and Gholam Kadir, and both went together to Dehlee. By the connivance of Allah Yar Khan and Budul Beg Khan,(3) two Moghul Turkoman officers of the King's guard, Gholam Kadir and Ismaeel Beg obtained a free passage across the Jumna, and professing much contrition, with many apologies and excuses, procured a pardon from the King, and were admitted to an audience and re-employed. Shah Alum then proposed to send them with the Prince Suleeman Shikoh (4) to reduce

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(1) کول سکندرہ

(2) June 18, 1788.

(3) اللہ یار خان - بدل بیگ خان

(4) سلیمان شکوہ

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some of the countries which had thrown off his yoke, and an expedition was fitted out with this professed object, but secretly the King at the same time addressed a letter to Mahajee Sindheea to this effect: That although yielding to circumstances, he had ostensibly countenanced Ismaeel Beg and Gholam Kadir, and had sent the Prince, his son, to share their enterprise, his real wishes were not for their success. "In you," the Shah added, "is my hope and my reliance, fear not!" This letter of the King to Mahajee unfortunately fell into the hands of Gholam Kadir, who advising upon it with Ismaeel Beg, determined to keep terms no longer with a Prince who so acted towards them: accordingly, seizing the King's person, he deprived him of sight, and plundered the palace of all he could lay hand upon, and then set up the Prince Bedar Bukht, (1) one of the sons of Mohummud Shah, as King.

Mahajee Sindheea hearing of these events at Agra, where he had remained after the victory over Ismaeel Beg, advanced to Muthra, (2) and thence sent Gopal Rao Bhao, Jeewa Dada, Lukhwa, and Raeejee Putèl, (3) with Ranee Khan and other officers, against Gholam Kadir Khan; with them he also sent DeBoigne, whom he had then recently taken into service, and (4) Ekdust Furingee, with several Battalions. By the time this force reached

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(1) بيدار بخت (2) متهرا

(3) گوپال راو بهاو جيوا دادا لكهوا راي جي پتيل

(4) The Translator has been unable to trace this name, or to discover who the officer is that is so designated. Monsr. Perron had lost a hand by the accidental explosion of a hand grenade, and might be the person indicated, if the signification, and not the sound of the words, were taken as the guide for conjecture. Ekdust Saheb may mean the one handed gentleman. Mons. Perron, however, is elsewhere designated as Peeroo Saheb.

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the neighbourhood of Dehlee, Ismaeel Beg and Gholam Kadir had quarrelled in the division of the spoil of the palace, and the former came over and joined Ranee Khan, Sindheea's General, whereupon, by Mahajee's order, he was detached into Hureeana. Gholam Kadir being thus left alone, defended himself a short time in the fort of Dehlee, and then retired to Noorgurh, (1) where finding it impossible to hold out, he made his escape by opening a sally-port of Suleemgurh, (2) by which he got to the Jumna and crossed. Being pursued and defeated by Sindheea's troops, he fled in confusion to Meeruth, (3) and there took refuge. A division of Sindheea's army pursued him thither, and for a month lay before Meeruth. When the provisions of the garrison were entirely expended, Gholam Kadir determined on a desperate effort to escape with two or three hundred horsemen, who still stuck by him. As the night was dark, and his fate equally black, the horse he rode fell into a brick well, and was killed. His followers, not knowing of the accident, left him lying there, and separated each for his individual safety: one man only, by name Zuburdust Khan, (4) remained by him, and having helped him out of the well, carried him to a village near. It so happened that the Zemindar of the village knew him, and told him his life would not be safe there, but he offered to conceal him in his own house. Gholam Kadir, after a little hesitation, determined to trust the man, and went to his house. But a Brahmin of the village, who had enmity against this Chief, became acquainted with the secret, and went immediately to

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(1) نورگڈھ (2) سلیم گڈھ (3) میرٹھ

(4) زبردست خان

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Sindheea's General, Ulee Buhadur,(1) to whom he told it, and got a village in Jageer for the intelligence. Gholam Kadir was, in consequence, made prisoner, and carried by Ulee Buhadur to Mahajee Sindheea, who caused him to be tied by the foot, to the foot of an elephant, and so he was beaten to pieces, and separated limb from limb, and suffered a miserable death,(2) in requital for all his crimes. Verily, who has committed such, and not suffered?

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(1) علي بهادر

(2) A. D. 1788–89.

BOOK THE SECOND.

CHAPTER IV.

1789 to 1797.

Conclusion of the Sketch of Mahratta History to the seizure of Juswunt Rao Holkur—and his imprisonment at Nagpoor.

It has been mentioned that at the battle of Tonka, wherein Mahajee suffered a defeat, the Rathors of Joudhpoor took part with the Jypoor forces. Inflated with their success, the Rathors assumed the height of insolence and presumption, and reproached the men of Jypoor with taunts and insults, (1) as if it were themselves only that had saved the Jypoor State, which, but for them, would have been the spoil of the Mahrattas. These speeches and reproaches were so many arrows in the side of Raja Purtab Singh, who thence came to hate the Rathors. He, accordingly, secretly made his peace with Mahajee Sindheea, who sent a force from Muthra against Patun Torawutee, (2) in the Shekawatee country, where

(1) Amongst the principal causes of offence, were some ribald verses of the Rathor bards, implying that the Rathors only had served the petticoats of Jypoor from profanation—*oodul tyn Amber ra rekha Rahtoran.*

(2) پاتن تنور علاقه شیخاواتي

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the Rathors were cantoned, having been recently joined by Ismaeel Beg. An action was there fought, in which the Rathors and Ismaeel Beg were defeated. (1) They fled to Peepar (2) in Joudhpoor, where another force of Rathors was collected, and both together prepared for a second stand at Meertha. The Mahratta army continuing the pursuit, advanced to Meertha, (3) and defeating the Rathors again, (4) followed them to Joudhpoor after sacking Meertha, and plundering all the country as far as Peepar. Raja Bijye Singh, of Joudpoor, being now reduced to extremity, agreed to pay a tribute of ten lakhs of rupees, and surrendered the Soobah of Ajmeer, which was in consequence occupied and garrisoned by the Mahrattas, and their Government was established in the surrounding country. Trenches were opened against Bukhra, (5) a fort of the Ajmeer territory, which being taken, the army returned to Mahajee at Muthra. These events happened in the Hejira year 1204. (6)

Himmut Buhadur Goosaeen conceiving at this time some ill-will against Mahajee Sindheea, resorted to magical incantations to get rid of him; and the secret getting wind, Mahajee attempted to seize the person of the Goosaeen, but he had timely warning and fled to Ulee

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(1) Ameer Khan was on the losing side in these affairs, being attached at the time to a Rusaladar in Ismaeel Khan's service—vide Book 1. Chapter II. The battle at Patun was fought on the 20th June 1790, and was hard contested.

(2) پیپار

(3) A. D. 1790, 12th September.

(4) میرتھہ

(5) بکھرہ

(6) A. D. 1789.—21st September to 9th September, 1790. The peace was not concluded until 1792.

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Buhadur, who had the Zuree Putka,(1) or standard of supreme command from the Peshwa. Mahajee Sindheea was very urgent with Ulee Buhadur for the surrender of Himmut Buhadur to him, but from respect to the standard he would not resort to force to compel it: at last an order came from Poona to settle this cause of difference, and Ulee Buhadur was sent along with Himmut Buhadur, to superintend the affairs of Bundelkhund. Tukoojee Holkur, who since the war with Tippoo, had been associated with Mahajee Sindheea, was now detached to administer the affairs of Jypoor, with which State an adjustment had been made on the terms of equal partition. Gopal Rao Bhao and Jeewa Dada were appointed to administer the affairs of Hindoostan for Mahajee, and the principal part of the army, with De Boigne's newly raised brigades, and Lukhwa Dada's troops, were quartered in that country, while Mahajee himself with Ambajee Inglia, Monsieur Perron and Ranee Khan marched into Mewar. Ambajee was left here as Soobahdar, and Mahajee then returned into the Dukhun.

Mahajee Sindheea was no sooner removed from Hindoostan, than Tukoojee Holkur pressing hard on Jypoor, the Rajah, by advice of a Moosahib, (companion) named Doulut Rao Huldeea, (2) entered into a private correspondence with Gopal Rao Bhao, Jeewa Dada, and other Surdars of the Sindheea family. He represented that

(1) زري پٹکه

(1) Literally golden girdle, so called because the standard consisted of such a girdle tied round the shaft of a spear.

(2) مصاحب دولت راو هلديه

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they were interested in protecting his country from depredation by the Holkur troops, as the half of the tribute was theirs, and while Tukoojee plundered the Jypoor territory in all directions, the payment of what had been stipulated, was impossible. The Raja on these grounds claimed their assistance, or good offices, to be relieved of the burthen of Holkur's excesses. Gopal Rao Bhao and the rest upon this wrote to Tukoojee to say, that Hindoostan was theirs in partnership, and therefore his acting separately against Jypoor was improper. Tukoojee replied, that in the distribution of tributes and territories, Jypoor had been allotted to him, and Joudhpoor to them; while the rest of Hindoostan only was in partnership. The correspondence got to a length, and led to a quarrel, so much so, that an action was fought at last at Lakheree (1) Ghat, in the Boondee country, when Tukoojee was defeated, and retreated in all haste to Muheshur, his family Jageer. Jeewa Dada, with DeBoigne's brigade, followed in pursuit, and went to the Dukhun, while Gopal Rao Bhao and Lukhwa Dada returned from Lakheree to Muthra. It was at this time that Mahajee Sindheea (2) died. As he had no children, Nanha Phurnuvees acting under the authority of Sewaee Madhoo Rao Peshwa, sent for Doulut Rao Sindheea, (3) the son of Khedarjee

(1) گهاٹه لاکهيري

(2) At Wunoulee, near Poona, on the 12th February, 1794.

(3) دولت راو سندهيه پسر کهدارجي براد رخورد مهاجي

(3) Doulut Rao is stated by Grant Duff to have been the son of Anund Rao, who was the youngest of three sons of Tukoojee Sindheea, Mahajee's full brother, killed with Junkojee at Paneeput. Khedarjee is stated to have been Anund Rao's eldest brother, and to have died childless; but the second brother, Roulajee, is said to have had two sons. Doulut Rao owed the succession to Mahajee's favor, and declared intention to adopt him, but the adoption was not completed before Mahajee's death, and Doulut Rao's accession was opposed by the widows, aided by Lukhwa Dada.

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Mahajee's younger brother, who was at the time at Oojein, and raised him to all the honors of the family. This happened in 1209 (1) Hejira.

Madhoo Rao Nurayun was bent on attacking the Nizam of Hydurabad, and Nanha Phurnuvees having been consulted, made preparations to put the design in execution. Rughoojee Ghoosla, (2) who was a connexion of the Saoo Raja, and an old Officer of that Government, was invited to join, and Tukoojee Holkur being summoned from Muheshur, came down to Poona with his troops, and put himself under the Peshwa's command. There were thus collected for operations against Hydurabad, the forces of Sindheea, of Holkur, and the Ghoosla, which, with the troops of the Dukhun Chiefs, made a force at command of near four hundred thousand men. This army moved towards Hydurabad, and Nizam-ool-moolk Nizam Ulee Khan marched out with such troops as he could collect to meet the Mahratta forces. A great battle was fought at Khura, (3) (called by Europeans Kurdla,) in the Dowlutabad district. Dowlut Rao Sindheea, who led the advance of the Peshwa's army, distinguished himself greatly in this action, and Nizam Ulee Khan was defeated. A peace was then concluded, in which the Nizam consented to pay tribute

(1) A. D. 1794.—29th July to 17th July 1795.

(2) رگھوجي گھوسله

(2) In Persian the name of this family is invariably written گھوسله Ghoosla, not Bhoosla.

(3) کھرا

(3) This great battle was fought on the 11th March 1795. It was lost by Nizam Ulee's impatience to retire and withdraw his Infantry, and by an accidental alarm and panic, which broke out in the night in his Camp. The consequences to Nizam Ulee were very disastrous.

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of a crore of rupees, and to surrender immediately country yielding a revenue of ten lakhs, as a hostage for the execution of which conditions Moosheer-ool-Moolk, (1) his Dewan and confidential Minister, was delivered into the Peshwa's power. Madhoo Rao, after this glorious termination of the war, returned to Poona, and gave to Doulut Rao Sindheea in reward for his services the fort of Dowlutabad. Rughoojee Ghoosla took his leave and returned to Nagpoor, but the rest of the troops collected for this war remained for the most part in the Dukhun. In the midst of these events, Madhoo Rao Peshwa was one day amusing himself with flying kites on a terrace of his palace, when, as fate ordained, the string of his life being short, his foot slipped, and he fell over the parapet, and the kite of his soul flew away into the air. This happened in the Hejira year 1215. (2)

Sewaee Madhoo Rao Peshwa having no children, Nanha Phurnuvees and the other Poona lords set up at first Chimna Apa, Rughoonath's youngest son, who, with Bajee Rao, his elder brother, was in surveillance at Kopergaon. But Bajee Rao intriguing with Doulut Rao Sindheea, and promising a crore of rupees if he would

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(1) مشیر الملک

(2) It has been generally believed that the young Peshwa threw himself from the top of the house in anger at a harsh speech of Nanha Phurnuvees, and this is confirmed by Grant Duff's recent history, than whom no one can have had better means of ascertaining the fact. The event occurred on the 25th October 1795, five years before the date in the text—1215 may, however, be a mistake of the transcriber for 1211, the date being written at length in words, and پانزدہ and یازدہ being very likely to be mistaken one for the other. The year 1215 commenced 25th May 1800, and ended 13th May 1801. Whereas, A. H. 1210 commenced 18th July 1795, and closed on the 6th July 1796. It was, therefore, in 1210, that Madhoo Rao Nurayun died.

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seize the Nanha, and place himself on the Guddee, won over this Chief, so that the Phurnuvees was put under restraint, and Bajee Rao, the second, was elevated to the dignity of Peshwa. Bajee Rao exacted from Nanha Phurnuvees the means of keeping his engagement with Doulut Rao, and then released him. But as the Nanha was a cunning man, deeply versed in all intrigue, he set himself after his release to find the means of getting rid of Bajee Rao, as the only means of restoring himself to power. It was in the middle of these events that Tukoojee Holkur died, (1) leaving four sons, Kashee Rao and Mulhar Rao, (2) by a woman of the same caste with himself, and Juswunt Rao (3) and Eethul Rao, (4) commonly called Eetajee, by a Khuwas, or slave girl. Upon the death of Tukoojee, Kashee Rao, being the eldest son, was raised to the head of the Holkur party; but the Nanha intrigued with Mulhar Rao, the second brother, and he began raising troops, declaring that Kashee Rao was unfit to be at the head of affairs, and being promised by Nanha Phurnuvees the succession to his father's honors. Mulhar Rao's levees were made in secret under the Nanha's advice, but Kashee Rao heard of them, the secret having got wind; whereupon he went to Doulut Rao Sindheea, complaining that Nanha Phurnuvees was instigating his younger brother to dispute his supremacy and effect his ruin, and he urged the seizure of the Nanha in order to stop the mischief. Doulut Rao asked what he was to get for interfering: whereupon Kashee Rao promised ten lakhs of rupees, and gave up to Doulut Rao the writing, by which half the revenues of Hindoostan

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(1) August 15, 1797.

(2) كاشي راو- ملهار راو (3) جسونت راو هولكر (4) ايتهل راو

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had been promised by Mahajee to Tukoojee Holkur. Doulut Rao upon this, sent a brigade of infantry, with some of his elite horse, to sieze Mulhar Rao. The troops fell upon his encampment in the night, and in the tumult and confusion, Mulhar Rao was slain. Juswunt Rao was wounded, but escaped, and went off towards Nagpoor. Doulut Rao, however, got possession of the persons of Mulhar Rao's widow and son, Khundee Rao, (1) who was quite a child, and sent them to the Fort of Aseergurh. (2) In the confusion of this night attack, a Chela of Mulhar Rao possessed himself of a large portion of the family jewels, and was carrying them off towards Nagpoor, when Juswunt Rao falling in with him made himself master of the property, deeming it his own by right. With the means thus acquired he levied troops and prepared to assert his own claims. Kashee Rao, however, hearing of it, was in alarm and wrote to Rughoojee Ghoosla, to sieze Juswunt Rao. As he had then but a small following, Rughoojee, with the aid of Sindheea, succeeded in effecting his seizure, and for a considerable period he was kept under restraint at Nagpoor.

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(1) کھندي راو (2) اسيرگڈھ

BOOK THE THIRD.[1]

THE AMEER'S CONNEXION WITH JUSWUNT RAO HOLKUR—AND THE RISE OF THE FORTUNES OF THAT CHIEF.

CHAPTER I.

1797 & 1798.

Meeting of Muharaj Juswunt Rao Holkur with the Ameer—their first adventures and enterprises, to the taking of Muheshur.

Note.—The original introduces Juswunt Rao with ten florid verses, calling for every species of inspiration to enable the author to do justice to that hero. Though highly characteristic of the Poet Shadan's style, this bombast would not be very acceptable to the English reader, and is, therefore, omitted.

THE travellers of the Kingdom of literature having dragged up the Joseph of their purpose with the rope of history from the well of knowledge, now proceed to convey him to the Egypt of narration.[2] When Muharaj

(1) In the original this Third Bâb or Book, continues without interruption to the last Book of the present division, filling four-fifths of the whole volume. The Translator has broken this disproportionate Bâb into seven Books. The Fourth Bâb of the original forms the Tenth Book here.

(2) The author means only to indicate by this laboured string of metaphors, his intention to resume the Narrative interrupted by the interlocutory sketch of Mahratta history just concluded.

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Juswunt Rao Holkur(1) was in his utmost distress and under restraint at Nagpoor, (2) despairing of release by the voluntary act of his persecutors, he set himself to practice stratagem and deception: and one night getting up as if for a necessary occasion, he went to the privy, where changing dress with a menial servant in waiting, he walked out and passed his guards, leaving the servant in his place, who, acting his part well, returned and went to sleep as if he were the Muharaj. Juswunt Rao Holkur had not gone far, when he fell in with Bukhshee Bhoosnee Sunkur, (3) who had been secretly in communication with him before, and from him, besides assurances of friendship and assistance, he secured an excellent mare, (4) mounting which, the Muharaj rode, without stopping, to Buhawur, (5) on the Nurbuda, where he put up at the house of Chimna Bhao, (6) an old retainer of the Holkur family. The Bhao kept him concealed for two or three days, and then said it would not be possible for him to remain longer, as the search for him by Kashee Rao's Hurkarus was hot. He advised the Muharaj, therefore, to retire for a time to the neighbouring hills and jungles, and to trust himself to the Bheels, (7) over whom, he said, he had considerable

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(1) مهاراج جسونت راو هولكر

(1) Throughout these Memoirs, Juswunt Rao is called by no other name than *Muharaj Holkur*: this designation has, in consequence, been retained as far as possible. Ameer Khan is in like manner, called always *An Ameer*, which was been rendered, the Ameer.

(2) ناگپور (3) بخشي بهوانی سنکر

(4) Sir John Malcolm says the mare Lunka was the gift of Chimna Bhao, and that Bhoosnee Sunkur and a Mahommedan accompanied Juswunt Rao in his flight. Ameer Khan having joined Juswunt Rao so soon after the event, will probably have collected the true story, though it must be admitted that Sir John had access to the very best sources of information.

(5) بهاور (6) چمنا بهاو (7) بهيل

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influence, and for whose fidelity he could answer. The Muharaj consented, and went to live for a few days amongst the Bheels. He then came out of the country, escorted by one or two hundred Bheels, and threw himself under the protection of the Puwar (1) Chief of Dhar, who entertained him for a time. There happened to be at no great distance, that is about three or four kos from thence, an old retainer of the Holkur family, named Nagoo Punt, (2) with one or two hundred troops. Juswunt Rao, under pretence of an interview, plundered him of all his property, and drove him to fly for his life.

Kashee Rao Holkur no sooner heard certain intelligence of Juswunt Rao's proceedings, than he wrote to the Puwars to sieze him, but the Dhar Chief thinking the request insulting to his honor, gave notice to Juswunt Rao, and speeded his departure. The Muharaj went then to Dybalpoor, (3) and having with him three or four hundred men, he stormed and took the place, and besides some funds in money, got possession of another good mare. Thence he went to Mahedpoor, (4) a possession of the Holkur family, but the Jageerdar, through fear of Kashee Rao, refused to receive him. Juswunt Rao next went to Sarungpoor, (5) where he remained some days. There was one Khundoo (6) then with him as a menial servant, who had before been in the Ameer's service, and had only recently left it at Bhopal. This man, seeing the resolution and intrepidity displayed by the Muharaj in his desperate circumstances, told him of the Ameer's character and past

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(1) پنوار رئیس دھار (2) ناگو پھ پنڈت (3) دیبالپور
(4) مھدپور (5) سارنگپور (6) کھندو

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history, with which he was well acquainted, and said—"If your Highness intends following the paths of high ambition and enterprise, it seems to me that you cannot do better than seek a friendship with the Ameer and unite your fortune with his. There is not his like to be met with in the present day, and he fortunately will now, probably, be at Bhopal, not very far distant from hence." The Muharaj caught immediately at this proposition and sent the Khidmutkar to the Ameer. The man came to Bhopal, and told the Ameer of Juswunt Rao's arrival at Sarungpoor, and of his designs for the future. The Ameer said, "Muharaj Juswunt Rao Holkur is a Surdar of very high rank, it would be more fitting that he should send a man of consideration to make propositions to me." The Khidmutkar returned with this answer; whereupon the Muharaj sent two Mahrattas, high in his confidence, to beg a personal interview. They came and stated, that the Muharaj was a noble of the highest rank, and had by him jewels of inestimable price, and that it would be well worth the Ameer's while to have an interview and to unite with him. The Ameer upon this sent Gholamee Khan, (1) a confidential man of his followers, on whose intelligence he could place reliance, to see how matters stood. This man went to his camp and had an audience with Juswunt Rao, and having ascertained the real state of things, returned to the Ameer, and reported what he had discovered, saying, "Of a truth, the Muharaj has not at present enough to provide himself with his night's meal, but he is the son of a Chief of high dignity, and through him there will be a road opened to the management of great affairs, even to the very highest from behind the curtain." The Ameer

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(1) غلامي خان

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approved this suggestion, and determined to proceed in person to wait upon the Muharaj. But as he was about to depart, his men, who were much in arrear, became clamorous for their pay, and refused to march. The Ameer accordingly hit upon the following expedient to reconcile them to the project: he collected all the jewels he had of his own into a casket, which he gave secretly to Gholamee Khan, and desired him to bring it with any other similar empty boxes he could get, and to deliver the whole to him in public before the troops, with a declaration, that they were sent by Muharaj Holkur, as the earnest of future favor, and of entertainment for the troops, under the condition of immediate march towards him. Gholamee Khan did as he was directed, and the Ameer selecting the casket he knew, opened it, and took out the jewels before his men. In the box opened, there were a great many articles, and the troops supposing the other boxes to be similarly full, agreed to march: whereupon the Ameer departing from Bhopal (1) went to Shujaelpoor, and levied a contribution of six thousand rupees, which he divided on the spot amongst the troops. The Muharaj, with his two or three hundred beggarly followers, had come into the Shujaelpoor district to make a levy upon some petty villages, as was his wont, for his force would not allow of his approaching places of any size or consideration. The people of the country, however, resisting his exactions, had collected, and surrounded him, so that the Ameer was compelled to interfere to make them disperse preparatory to his own meeting with the Muharaj. Having effected this with little trouble, he sent word to the Muharaj of his being in the neighbourhood; whereupon Muharaj Holkur came to Shujaelpoor, and there the first interview took

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(1) شجاعلپور

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place between the two Chiefs with becoming state and attentions on both sides, and the foundations of a firm and lasting friendship were laid on the occasion. This happened in the Hejira year 1214.(1)

The junction of the Ameer was to Muharaj Holkur a source of great satisfaction and strength. It was determined, therefore, to proceed immediately against Muheshur, the old possession of the Holkur family. Marching from Shujaelpoor, and levying a contribution at Ashta, (2) the two Chiefs encamped in that neighbourhood. As the Ameer was at this time troubled with the lumbago, (pain in the loins,) it occurred to him to give away all the articles of his Toshuk-khana, (3) as an offering in the service of God, and to place himself firmly on the Musnud of faith, relying entirely for the future on the divine grace and protection. Having, accordingly, determined on this sacrifice, he gave away at once all the articles he possessed in the shape of utensils, raiment, tents, and the like, to the poor, and to those who needed them, reserving nothing, but the clothes he wore, and a single horse for his own riding. Muharaj Holkur seeing this, said—"There is a grand career before us, and we have glorious parts to play: it would ill-become either of us, after girding our loins to the great enterprise we have undertaken, to withdraw and give up our designs in pusillanimity; let us, therefore, jointly resolve to pursue our purpose at all risks, and to abide the severest tests of

(1) A. D. 1799—5th June to 24th May 1800, which shows that there is an error. A. H. 1213, which commenced 15th June 1798, was probably the true year.

(2) اشته (3) توشکخانه

(3) *Toshuk-khana* is the wardrobe for state dresses and valuable stuffs.

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the touchstone of experience, so that our names may go down to posterity with credit on the record of time." If, he added, "it be the will of God that I should recover the property and possessions of my family, the half shall be yours." The Ameer accepted this offer, and said, "How true it is that he who gives in the service of God receives a hundred-fold. I have no love for goods or gold, but out of regard for you and yielding to your persuasion, and because I have been several times warned from the invisible world that high destinies await me, I consent to give the horse of my ambition the reins in the field of high enterprise." The Chiefs, after this conversation, continuing their march, encamped next at Bhadoor, (1) on the north bank of the Nurbuda. On the opposite side was a force of Sindheea's quartered at Hindia, (2) and employed to watch all the fords of the river, a duty which was very effectually performed. The Ameer finding the fords guarded, began to think that if this were the case, and there were no boats to cross at other points, the passage would prove difficult: He accordingly consulted with the Muharaj on the subject, who observed, that their purpose would best be answered by seeking boats if such were forthcoming, for to force a passage by the fords in the face of the enemy, seemed to be a desperate undertaking. The Muharaj employed to make the search a shrewd and active man, named Sham Rao Maree, (3) and he, sending people along the banks, brought intelligence that there were two or three Doongas, or small canoes, at about two kos off. The Ameer immediately he heard this, which was about three o'clock in the morning, sent off Kurum Deen Khan, his half-brother, and two or three hundred select horse, all matchlock men in mail, with

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(1) بهادر (2) هندیا (3) سیام راوماری

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instructions to cross, without noise, by the boats at the Ghaut indicated, which was on the right or lower down the river, and immediately on arriving on the opposite side to move up with all speed to the ford by the direct road, and, when they approached the party on guard there, to fire altogether and charge home, trusting to be supported from across the river where the enemy had then no expectation of attack. The matchlock men, with Kurum Deen Khan, did as they were ordered, and, opening a fire in a body on the party at the ford, the latter took panic, and fled at once to the Town of Hindia. The Muharaj and the Ameer then crossed without opposition, and coming on the enemy from a quarter where they were not expected, made a considerable slaughter. Pursuing their success, they plundered the Town of Hindia, and got much booty there, and so first raised the standard of victory. The Ameer observed to Muharaj Holkur, that God had given them this prize in requital for the distribution of his property made some little time before as above related. The Muharaj said "It must be so." Halting at Hindia for the day, they marched the day following, and levying contributions from Khudwa, Phugtun-gaon, (1) and other places, arrived at a village close by Kusrod. (2) Next morning they came to the Ghat of that name, which they found guarded by two Battalions, a party of Dragoons, and four Guns, sent there by Hujur Beg Furingee, (3) Sindheea's officer at Muheshur, for the purpose of preventing access on this side; for the Muharaj's design of moving on that old possession

(1) کھدوہ و پھکتن گانون (2) کسراود (3) حجر بیگ فرنگي

(3) The Officer here referred to is the Chevalier Dudrenec, a Frenchman, who was first in Kashee Rao Holkur's service, and then came over to Juswunt Rao as here related. He subsequently transferred his services to Doulut Rao Sindheea after being deserted by his men.

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of his family had by this time got wind. The detachment was on the point of moving from Kusrod to take up its defensive position, when the Ameer determined to reconnoitre and watch its motions. He accordingly started towards the enemy with a few horse. The Muharaj seeing him in motion, rode after him, and said, "Surely you are not going to commit yourself in action with an enemy so strong with these few horse?" The Ameer said, "I am going to meet the enemy: If I gain the victory, do you come up and take a share in the glory: If I die in the battle, follow your own schemes." The Muharaj was silent; and the Ameer leaving Kurum Deen Khan, his brother, at the spot, went on with a few attendants on horseback and passing the Ghat, began leisurely to survey the enemy, and to examine his strength and dispositions. While he was so employed, some two or three hundred of his horse came up in small parties, and as it were, by degrees and by accident, joined him, and the men then said, "We are ready—why should the attack be delayed." The Ameer was gratified with this proof of alacrity, and began skirmishing with the enemy. Sham Rao Maree, an officer of Holkur's, came up also and joined in the affair, and the Ameer was preparing to head a general charge, in order to try the metal of the enemy's courage, when at the first report of the scaling of the guns with the detachment, Sham Rao Maree turned to the right about, and his example took away many of the Ameer's horse, who also kept aloof, so that the Ameer was left with only seventeen troopers. With these, however, he charged home to a hillock, where piercing the enemy's line he made a considerable slaughter. Pursuing his success, he went against a battalion which had formed square at a little distance, and seemed disposed to make a stand. The number of troopers with the Ameer was, at this time, reduced to five or six, and they were somewhat behind

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himself, seeing which Muhub Ulee Khan,(1) who was one of them, rode up and said, "You have not a soul with you just now: what is the use of charging alone?" The Ameer looking round, drew up, and was lost in reflection, and the Khan went to collect the scattered horsemen. But he had not gone far when a matchlock ball struck him on the leg, and lamed him for life. The Ameer not thinking it prudent to attack in front, where the guns were drawn out, ready charged and primed, went round and attacked the square with his eight or nine horsemen on one side, while about one thousand horse from the camp, advanced against them from a different quarter, and charged also with great bravery. In the midst of this, Muharaj Holkur, with Sham Rao Maree, and five or six more, came and joined the Ameer; and in the end, the detachment which had formed square, was overpowered and broken, and four guns and two elephants, and a large supply of stores and equipments, fell into the hands of the Ameer and Muharaj. The Officers of this detachment, who were with a small party of horse, at a little distance from the scene of its defeat, fled precipitately to the Chevalier Dudrenec, (Hujur Beg,) who taking panic, retired from Muheshur to Indor.(2) In short, this victory opened the way to the object of the two Chiefs' desires. Having encamped on the field for the night, they marched next morning to the bank of the Nurbuda, opposite Muheshur, and ordered Buhara Mul, Ahleea Baee's (3) old manager, to provide boats quickly to cross the troops, when it was promised, that Muheshur should not be pillaged. Buhara Mul hesitated

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(1) محب علیخان (2) اندور

(3) بھارامل مختارکار مہیشرا زطرف اہلیا بائی

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at first, but the threat of assault and sack of the town operated on his fears, and he at length complied, and, treating the Muharaj as the head of the Holkur family, provided boats, wherein he and the Ameer crossed, and both entered the city (1) in triumph together. Immense resources in money, goods, elephants, horses, guns, family jewels, and forts came now at once into the possession of Juswunt Rao Holkur. The Ameer seated the Muharaj on a Musnud of State, and placed himself alongside. The Muharaj was not satisfied at this arrangement, but made the Ameer sit on the Musnud along with himself. Although Juswunt Rao being the son of a Khuwas, (2) (a slave girl,) was not entitled of right to the Musnud, he yet assumed this state, but coined money in the name of Khundee Rao (3) Holkur, Mulhar Rao's infant son, who was of full blood, and the legitimate heir after Kashee Rao. Nights and days were now spent in revel and rejoicing, and the Ameer himself gave an entertainment on the banks of the river, lighting up the water and illuminating the whole neighbourhood, and preparing tasteful boats of gay colours, filled with musicians, and witching women, who, with their dances and songs, would have made prize of the hearts of hermits a hundred years old. Thus he sat enjoying the scene, with the view of the water, and of the preparations before him, satisfied that the boat of his desires had now reached the shore of his hopes.

[Here follow twenty-eight verses, in hyperbolical praise of this entertainment, as they tell nothing new, and are in the common style of such effusions, the English reader will not desire to see them transferred to the page of this translation.]

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(1) A. D. 1798. (2) خواص (3) كهندي راو

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BOOK THE THIRD.

CHAPTER II.

1798.

Muharaj Holkur's adventures and enterprises continued in union with the Ameer up to the first separation of their forces.

On the day after the entertainment above mentioned, the Ameer went to wait upon the Muharaj, whom he found sitting on his Musnud of State. Reflecting that two swords cannot remain in one scabbard, the Ameer, through an innate generosity of disposition, went and sat down alongside; and, although the Muharaj importuned him to come and sit on the Musnud, he refused, saying—"The Musnud here was your father's, I give you joy of its possession, but sit myself on the Musnud of faith and reliance on the providence of God, aiming even at higher objects, but biding my time." The Muharaj yielded, and with the Ameer entered on business of state. The Perguna of Seronj was now assigned to the Ameer as his share of their present acquisitions, and he sent Yoosuf Khan to manage his interests there. As the engagement, the Muharaj had come into with the Ameer to divide equally, was beginning to be felt by him as inconvenient,

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and the Muharaj was seeking the means of evading performance, he began at this time to tamper with the Ameer's men, to set them to demand higher pay, and so to win them over to his own service. The secret came out through one of the Ameer's confidants, who brought the intelligence of these practices to the Ameer. His anger boiled at hearing of them, and he observed to his friends—"See what an insidious scheme the Muharaj is hatching in return for all my services, and when he has not yet half attained his own purposes. What can I hope from him hereafter after such an example of his perfidy?" The Ameer's faithful followers all replied with one voice, that "As the Muharaj had first begun the foul play, it would be fair to play with him the same game, and if success attended their cause, the Ameer might aim to establish himself in independence, and even in supremacy without troubling himself hereafter to keep to the terms of the partnership." The Ameer hearing this advice turned away his face, and thus resolved within himself; that as the Muharaj showed the disposition thus early to play him false, it would be better to leave his service for a time on the first opportunity, that he might acquire a better estimate of his value. While this was passing at Muheshur, Hujur Beg Saheb (the Chevalier Dudrenec,) detained at Indor, and won over to take service with him, some Afghans who were coming, on the strength of the Ameer's reputation, to join his troops. Getting also some Mahratta horse together, he marched with a considerable force to attack the Muharaj at Muheshur. Hearing of his design, the Muharaj was in great perplexity, and came immediately to the Ameer whom he found enjoying himself on the river. With many protestations he addressed the Ameer, saying,—"The enemy are now coming in strength, without your zealous service and assistance

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I have no hope." The Muharaj continued, that he saw nothing for it, but to retire and wait until their own force should be further recruited. The Ameer at first answered in ill-humour, having in recollection his recent ground of discontent, but was pacified by the intreaties and protestations of the Muharaj, and then gave it as his opinion that it would be discreditable to turn their backs upon the enemy without an action, that they must, therefore, trust for victory to God, the disposer of events. The Muharaj, deriving confidence from these exhortations, began making his arrangements, but the Chevalier Dudrenec (Hujur Beg,) came upon him before they were complete, and arrived with his troops at the Jâm Ghat, which is only seven or eight kos from Muheshur. The Muharaj and the Ameer accordingly went out with a light force to meet him, leaving their rear guard and baggage at Choolee, (1) which is three kos from Muheshur. The enemy were at the top of the Ghat, the Ameer and Muharaj in the valley below: there was, consequently, no means of attacking him, except at disadvantage, still the Ameer contrived from the morning till the afternoon, so to harrass his march, that notwithstanding this advantage, and that his object was to descend into the valley, he could make in that time an advance of only three kos, and that with extreme difficulty. The Ameer and the Muharaj then returned to their camp, which was two or three kos to the north of Muheshur, and gave their men leave to go into the town for provisions, keeping only a reserve of two or three hundred horse, with four guns, in readiness, to check any sudden attack. Hujur Beg (Chevalier Dudrenec,) came up and encamped

(1) جولي

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at a short distance, that is, about a kos or two off. In the midst of this the report of artillery was heard, and intelligence arrived that Sham Rao Maree, who had remained behind, when the rest of the troops came to camp, was engaged with a party of the enemy at a place about a kos distant. The Muharaj came in alarm to the Ameer, and said, "There is Sham Rao Maree hotly engaged, we must support him." The Ameer said, "It is evening, and the time is short, it would be wrong to bring on a general action at this hour. The Maree is only skirmishing, why need he be supported." The Muharaj was not satisfied, but went out himself towards the party of Sham Rao. The Ameer now reflected, that if he held back, men would put a bad construction on the motive, and attribute it to cowardice: He accordingly went out likewise with about one hundred horse, that were ready at hand, and coming upon the enemy, entered immediately into action. The Muharaj had with him near five thousand horse, but they kept aloof, and did not engage: Of the Ameer's men too, several hung back when the artillery opened upon them, so that there remained only about twenty-five men about himself, when he made his charge: Still not thinking it creditable to retire, he rode home against the enemy with these few, and began laying about him with sword and spear like another Roostum, and did great execution. A body of the enemy was broken and put to flight; the evening, however, was coming on, and the Ameer looking behind him, saw that only five men still stuck by him. One of his attendants then reminded him, that he was alone with his glory, having no attendant, but God's Providence; accordingly he turned homeward, but on arriving at camp, found the main body of the enemy already engaged with the infantry and troops left there, and that the Ameer's and Muharaj's foot

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soldiers being mostly raw levies, had given way, so that the four guns in position had been carried. The Ameer immediately charged with the horse in his company the rear of the enemy, and was actively engaged, making considerable slaughter amongst them, when the Muharaj came up with a few attendants; and, as it was so dark that there was no distinguishing friend from foe, the Ameer was on the point of attacking him spear in hand. The Muharaj, however, recognizing the Ameer, called out—"Hold brother, it is I;" whereupon the Ameer staying his charge, drew up, and as it was late, both Chiefs commenced retiring from the field. The enemy seeing a knot of people sent a party against them, whereupon the Ameer turned and put them to flight. Having been successful wherever they were personally engaged, as related above, the Ameer and the Muharaj at last began to think of seeking a place to pass the night, but hoping that something might yet be done first, they, with their small party, rode boldly into the enemy's camp where there was great confusion, the ground having but just been taken up, and every body being busy pitching tents, and running backwards and forwards. Several of the enemy were killed in this attack, and in consequence of the darkness preventing them from distinguishing friend from foe, it produced serious consequences, and gave occasion to a heavy slaughter amongst them: for the troops in front turned against those in the rear, and the artillery fired in the dark, and there was a great turmoil and confusion all night. The Muharaj and the Ameer retiring from the field came to a Baolee, (1) or large well, distant about two kos from Muheshur, and there dismounted. Some

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(1) باولي

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other horse came in and gathered round them, amongst others, a Mokhtar, or agent of Paeegah(1) horse, came up, against whom the Muharaj had conceived a rancorous personal hate, but whose corps was too numerous and too attached to give the opportunity of punishing or disgracing him openly. He was riding, engaged in conversation with a trooper, when the Muharaj recognized his voice, and said to the Ameer—"This man I know to be my deadly enemy, though I have been compelled by circumstances hitherto to dissemble and appear friendly to him. He is now in my power—I will dispatch him." The Ameer said—"You are the master, do what you think proper." Whereupon the Muharaj mounting and riding up to the man, killed him on the spot with a stroke of his sword. The two Chiefs then returned to Muheshur with about fifteen or twenty attendants. They found upon enquiry, that of their whole army not a man was there, except one or two hundred who were in the fort panic-stricken. Seeing this, the Muharaj and the Ameer went to the jewel store and taking as many of the most valuable articles as they could well carry, left the place forthwith, and went to Dhurumpooree,(2) in the Dhar territory, which is about seven or eight kos from Muheshur. Here the stragglers were collected, and the Muharaj retired to Doorjunpoor,(3) which is in the mountains and jungles occupied by Bheels, and on a height commanding an important pass through that country. He staid here for some time, and conferred a Khilat,(4) or dress of honor on the Chief of the Bheels, with other presents and tokens of favor on men of that race. His plan now was to cut off the supplies from the enemy's army, in which service

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(1) پايگاه (2) دهرم‌پوري (3) درجن پور (4) خلعت

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the Bheels were calculated to be most useful. With their aid the routes of supply to Muheshur were effectually stopped. The Ameer also tampered with the Afghan horse in the service of Hujur Beg, (Chevalier Dudrenec) and offering them increased pay, won over a great number, through whom he raised a tumult and mutiny in the Chevalier's army. The Ameer, indeed, made a vow, that he would not rest until he should get the better of this officer, nor would he wear a turband until victory should crown his efforts. The time for fulfilling this vow soon arrived. The Chevalier Dudrenec reduced to straights for want of supplies, sent to the Ameer to offer to come to terms with the Muharaj. The Ameer reported the message, and the Muharaj proposed to draw the Frenchman into terms for the purpose of circumventing and treacherously slaying him, but the Ameer would not hear of such a thing. This, he said, would be very cowardly, and besides, "who shall venture to raise a hand against those who make their peace through me?" The Muharaj yielded, and terms were granted, whereupon the Muharaj went by Dybalpoor to Gonda (1) in Dhar, and thence sent the Ameer to give assurance to the Chevalier Dudrenec, who was at the Jâm Ghat (2) above Muheshur, and to receive his surrender. This officer met the Ameer and gave him a salute with all honor, and carried the Ameer to his own tent. At sight of the shawl handkerchief, with which the Ameer's head was bound, he took the covering from his own head, and with hands joined,

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(1) دیبالپور کوندہ

(1) Sir J. Malcolm calls this place Burgonda, and says it is six miles S. W. of the British Cantonment at Mhow, and nineteen miles on the same direction from Indore, on the high road from thence to Muheshur.

(2) گھاٹہ جام

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said, "As your vow forbids your wearing a turband till you have conquered me, see the object accomplished, bare headed, I lay my head's covering before you, and acknowledge myself to be defeated. Nay, if you wish to make me prisoner, here is my sword, I surrender it, and you may take me to your camp." This was conformable to the English custom, for with them, when any one is made prisoner, or put under arrest, the surrender of the sword is the symbol, as if the sword was the jailor, or custodier of its owner. The Ameer was pleased and satisfied with this speech, and the Chevalier gave the Ameer his own turband, and himself put on the shawl handkerchief of the Ameer, so as to make an exchange of turbands. He then took the Ameer to Muheshur, and transferred to him all the treasure, stores, and jewels, and went back along with him to be presented to the Muharaj in his camp. The Muharaj could not, in consequence of the Ameer's protection, place him under restraint, but in his heart he designed him evil. It happened that, on that very night he was sitting on the bank of the Nurbuda, amusing himself with firing at a Mushal, set alight on the river when the matchlock burst, and inflicted a severe wound in his eye.(1) Of a truth, he that knows all things secret and divulged is not to be deceived. In the twinkling of an eye upon the eye of the Muharaj fell this just retribution for the treacherous designs he meditated against the Chevalier Dudrenec. In the end, the Muharaj set a garrison in Muheshur, and re-organizing the defeated brigade of the French officer, restored him to the command of it on his own behalf, and sent him to occupy and administer Tonk and Rampoora, which, for a long time, had belonged to the

(1) Juswunt Rao lost entirely the sight of one eye by this accident.

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Holkur family, having been wrested from Jypoor by Mulhar Rao, as related in the Sketch of the Mahratta History above given. The Chevalier, accordingly, marched for this purpose by the route of Kota, while the Muharaj, with the Ameer, moved to Nolaee (1) in Malwa, and levied a contribution upon the place. The Ameer now represented to the Muharaj, that the army was too large to be subsisted in one body, and it would be better to separate their respective forces, and each to levy contributions for the support of his own troops, holding themselves in readiness to re-unite in case of necessity. The Ameer's advice was approved and adopted by the Muharaj. The above events occurred in the Hejira year 1215. (2)

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(1) نولاي

(2) The Hejira year 1215 began on the 25th May 1800, and finished on the 13th May 1801. This date must, therefore, be an error. See next Chapter where the Hejira year 1214 is given for subsequent events. The Hejira year 1213 must be the true period. Sir J. Malcolm gives the year 1798 for the events related in this Chapter, and the Hejira year 1213 commenced 15th June 1798 and ended on the 3d June 1799.

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BOOK THE THIRD.

CHAPTER III.

1799.

Separation of the Muharaj and Ameer—the former goes to Soondhwara and levies tribute on Kota—The Ameer marches to Seronj—attacks Sagur—defeats and besieges the Raja, who applies to Nagpoor for succour—Defeat of the Ameer.

THE Muharaj marched from Nolaee into Soondhwara, (1) and there levied tribute on the Kota Raja, (2) and contributions on all the neighbouring towns and villages. The Ameer left his brother, Kurum Deen Khan, and some horse, with the Muharaj, and attached to him for a guard a company from Alum Khan's (3) battalion, under command of Mohummud Shah Khan, (4) an Afghan of the company, well acquainted with every branch of drill and discipline, and who, besides commanding the party of infantry, was to teach this part of the military profession to Kurum

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(1) سوندهوارہ (2) راجہ کوتہ

(3) یک نشان از بتالن عالم خان کمیدان (4) محمد شاہ خان

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Deen. He then took his leave of the Muharaj, and went with the rest of his troops, by Shujaelpoor,(1) Shahjehanpoor and Bhurseea,(2) levying contributions as he passed, to Seronj, where Yoosuf Khan had established himself as Amil on the Ameer's part. Raee Himmut Raee, on the strength of the friendship which had subsisted between him and the Ameer at Bhopal, was also employed in the management of this district, and a Sunud was given to him for the villages of Anundpoor and Mukroda,(3) in the Seronj Perguna, to be held by him and his descendants in full hereditary property. The Ameer had at this time seventy or eighty thousand horse in his train. With this force, marching from Seronj, he levied a contribution on Mulhargurh,(4) and thence moved to Itawa,(5) in Sagur, upon which he levied sixty thousand rupees, thence to Khimlasa,(6) which paid the same, and thence he advanced to within three kos of Sagur. He had scarcely taken up his ground when Ubhajee,(7) the Raja of the place, came out with eighteen thousand matchlock-men, four thousand Bundeelas, and three or four thousand horse, and met him on the line of march. The Ameer made a charge in person after his wont, and many of the enemy were put to the sword. Ubhajee was driven back, and slowly retired to the town of Sagur, seeking shelter behind its walls. The Ameer encamped a kos from the town, and employed himself for a week in opening trenches against the place from a point near the river side. One day, Khyr Mohummud Khan,(8)

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(1) شجاعلپور (2) شاه جهانپور بهرسیا (3) انند پور مکرودہ
(4) ملهارگڈہ (5) اٹاوہ علاقہ ساگر (6) کهملاسہ
(7) ابهاجي راجه (8) خیرمحمدخان

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with Nuzur Mohummud Khan, (1) and some other of the Ameer's men, to the number of about seventeen, left the trenches, and were amusing themselves in a garden a little to the left, when two hundred of the élite of the enemy's horse sallied out from their works, and attacked them. The Champions of the faith held out against these odds with great intrepidity, and drove back the enemy, distinguishing themselves much in the presence of both armies. The Ameer had been seven days employed on this siege, and was, in consequence of a boil, which troubled him, lying in his palkee in the trenches, when, on the eighth day, Ubhajee made a sally with his entire force, viz. four thousand Bundeelas, eighteen thousand matchlock-men, and eighteen guns, and attacked the batteries. The Ameer tying up his boil with a bit of cloth, mounted his horse immediately, and with about five hundred troopers, got round to the enemy's rear, and a large party having collected to oppose the sally in front, Ubhajee was completely defeated, and retreated into the fort, where he was close shut up. The besieging army, following up the victory, mastered the town, and gained there a large booty of jewels, rich stuffs, and other valuable articles, besides the enemy's guns and stores, which also fell into the Ameer's power. The booty was inestimable, so much so, that Ubhajee afterwards made out a list of his losses which he sent to the Peshwa, wherein he set down the plunder, taken on this occasion, at nine crore of rupees.

VERSE.

When Sagur was stormed, the Ameer decreed
The sack of the town as the soldier's meed,
All rushed to the city its wealth to win,
Not a house, nor a corner but they got in;

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(1) نذر محمد خان

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They found there full many a hoard of gold,
And jewels, and rich stuffs, of price untold—
All, all were supplied to their hearts full lust,
Till gold in the market was cheap as dust—
Proud rode the Ameer, and his star shone bright,
When he took up in Sagur his quarters that night.

In short, having mastered the city, the Ameer caused a battery to be immediately raised within it against the fort, which still held out. Ubhajee was now disposed to submit, and terms were made with him for a prompt payment of two lakhs of rupees, and the trenches against the fort were accordingly broken up; but Gholamee Khan, who was the agent employed by the Ameer to negociate with Ubhajee, brought intelligence that there was immense treasure buried in the fort. He accordingly told the Ameer that the sum demanded was inadequate, and advised breaking the engagement concluded, in order to get more. Unfortunately the lust of this treasure got the better of the Ameer's good faith, and cancelling the engagement he had already signed with Ubhajee, he recommenced operations for the siege of the fort. Ubhajee being reduced to extremity, applied to Rughoojee Ghoosla, of Nagpoor, for succour, promising to surrender Choupura Gurh and Gurh Mundela (1) as the condition of relief. Rughoojee sent immediately a brigade under Benee Singh (2) Sirdar, with forty thousand horse, Arabs, Pindarees, and all included, and with a strong artillery, to relieve Ubhajee. The Afghans, in the Ameer's service, had raised a tumult in camp on the score of pay, and the Ameer, in consequence, had pitched his tents

(1) چوپراگڈھ و گڈھہ مندلہ (2) بيني سنگھ

(2) This is the Chief who was slain in the storm of Gawelgurh, when taken by the Duke of Wellington in 1803.

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away from their quarters, so that the siege of the fort was not pushed as it might have been. The Ameer, however, had written to Kurum Deen Khan to press the march of Muharaj Holkur to his succour from Soondhwara, where he still was, and Kurum Deen was on march along with the Muharaj, but they were not less than five or six stages distant, when the army of Rughoojee, of the strength mentioned, came up by forced marches and arrived in sight of Sagur. The Ameer now reflected that, if he were to engage these troops before the arrival of the Muharaj, the whole glory of victory would be his own—whereas, if he waited for the Muharaj, that Chief would have the credit of the battle. Influenced chiefly by this motive, he moved out to engage the Nagpoor troops as they came to their ground near Sagur. The Ameer had two thousand of his old Rohilla horse in the army brought by him to Sagur, and as many foot soldiers. In the attack he made on the enemy, on their approach to Sagur, these men behaved pretty well: about sixty of them stuck by him in his charge, and with these he rode home into the enemy's ranks, committing great slaughter. But while he was thus engaged, a battalion of the enemy drew up near the spot and delivered its fire on the Ameer's party, whereby several of the sixty men were killed or disabled. Only nine stuck by him after this, and he was surrounded on all sides. The fight grew so hot that the reins of the Ameer's charger were cut through, and the horse being very spirited, in one of his lunges when free from the control of the rein, threw the Ameer, and galloped back to the other troops, who seeing the horse without its rider, gave the Ameer over for lost, and took to flight. In the mean time the Ameer found himself only slightly wounded with a spear, but surrounded by the enemy. He re-mounted, however, on a trooper's

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horse, but not feeling at home on a strange charger, he avoided close combat, and made the best of his way from the field. When well out of danger, it occurred to him that all this defeat and difficulty had come upon him as a just punishment for his bad faith to Ubhajee, in cancelling the agreement with him after it had been signed. Having got together about two or three hundred of his straggling horse, he enquired where the reserve and baggage were, and was told that the Suwars and Pindarees of the enemy had attacked and overpowered them; whereupon he immediately, with the men about him, rode after these miscreants, and made them desist from molesting his troops. He then turned against an advancing body of the enemy, who paying little attention to his party in consequence of their small number, or perhaps mistaking them for some of their own troops, were taken by surprise and overpowered. The Ameer exerted himself like an angry lion, and so riding up to his own artillery, which were in the enemy's power, he made a stand for their recovery. But as the artillery men were scattered over the field, and the means were not forthcoming to bring the guns away, he was compelled to retire, which he did to the banks of the Duhsan (1) river.

The Nagpoor army had no design of entering into battle with the Ameer, but on the contrary, Benee Singh's object was to mediate some adjustment with Ubhajee, therefore there was no occasion at all for the Ameer to have committed himself in this action. But such was the will of God, whose ways are inscrutable. The affair happened in the Hejira year 1214. (2)

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(1) دهسان

(2) A. D. 1799.—5th June 1799 to 25th May 1800. The exact date of this battle is no where given.

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Kurum Deen Khan, with Muharaj Holkur, had arrived at Seronj on their way to join the Ameer, when they heard of his defeat. The former came by forced marches with five thousand men, he had under his command, to succour him, and great was the Ameer's satisfaction at his arrival. He told his brother of the misbehaviour of the Afghans, particularly of Himmut Khan, (1) of Akbur Khan, (2) and some others, whereat Kurum Deen Khan's anger being excited, he mounted immediately, and attacked and drove the miscreants out of camp, pursuing them for ten or twelve kos, and destroying many. The Ameer was pleased at their punishment. In the mean time, Muharaj Holkur learning from general report how complete was the Ameer's defeat, and that his army was quite broken up, came to Seronj with the design of re-taking it into his own possession. The Ameer wrote to him, however, that although matters had gone hard with him, chiefly through the misconduct and treacherous behaviour of some of those whom he had trusted, yet he had escaped with life and was unhurt, and had thoroughly ascertained the strength of the enemy, so if the Muharaj was disposed to take his own revenge for what he had heretofore suffered at the hands of Rughoojee Ghoosla, the opportunity was still favorable. The Muharaj was not then inclined to the enterprise and kept aloof: The Ameer, accordingly, went to Seronj and had an interview with the Muharaj. There were at this time, with the Ameer, about ten or twelve thousand horse and foot, chiefly consisting of those who, having got rich upon the plunder of Sagur, had gone off, but having spent or deposited their booty, had since rejoined. The Muharaj breaking up from Seronj, went

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(1) همت خان (2) اکبر خان

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by Rutlam, Jhalwa, and Mundisor, (1) levying contributions on each place, and so came to Indor. It was at this time that Kashee Rao Holkur started from Poona for Kandes, (2) with one or two thousand horse and foot. Juswunt Rao, however, successfully tampered with his escort, and they thinking meanly of Kashee Rao, whereas Juswunt Rao had established a name for courage and enterprise, and seemed to them better fitted for high fortune and a more proper person, therefore, to be at the head of the Holkur family, seized the former and delivered him to Juswunt Rao, who kept him a close prisoner in the Fort of Galna. (3) The men he re-organized and entertained in his own service. The Ameer now marched from Seronj and laid siege to Jhansee. (4) But Bala Rao Inglia came to its succour, and begged the Ameer, on the score of old friendship, not to molest the place. The Ameer said, he looked upon it as far from friendly in Bala Rao to interfere between him and a place, upon which he considered himself free to levy tribute. But he added, "Be it so this once! but not again," and so he separated from Bala Rao in friendship, and went to Nya Suraee, (5) where he established a garrison, and then to Siperee Kolarus. (6) Ambajee Inglia, Sindheea's officer, here met the Ameer, and settled amicably for the Holkur tribute due from the place; accordingly the Ameer returned to Seronj. The time of the Hoolee (7) now approached, and the Ameer, with his brother, Kurum Deen Khan, made an entertainment for its celebration. Many were the musicians of skill, and the dancing girls of sweet voices and witching grace, and women with

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(1) رتلام جهالوه مندسور (2) خاندیس (3) گالنه

(4) جهانسی (5) سراي‌نو (6) سپيري‌کولارس (7) هولي

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Narcissus' eyes and tulip cheeks, who were collected on this occasion, and great was the revel, and the joy, and the delight of the guests.

[The English reader will pardon the omission in this place of a second string of twenty-eight verses in hyperbolical praise of the dancers and singers, and other delights of these revels.]

As the Ameer began to find, that his affairs could not be carried on without provision being made for fresh incomings beyond the fixed revenue of his immediate possessions, he moved from Seronj to Shujaelpoor, and surrounded the place. The men of his army, finding a way into the town, began crowding in, hot for plunder, when the Ameer sent Kurum Deen Khan, with a party, to assist in preventing a promiscuous pillage, and he was aiding the men of the town in barricading streets, and otherwise opposing the rabble, when a chance matchlock ball struck him in the breast, and this promising young man was killed upon the spot. The intelligence was brought forthwith to the Ameer, who was making his arrangements for besieging the fort; and deeming it unbecoming to allow his private feelings to get the better of the duty he had in hand, he first completed the investment, and compelled the fort to surrender. Then giving way to his grief, he performed his brother's funeral obsequies with all honor. The Ameer placing a garrison in Shujaelpoor, promoted Saleh Mohummud Khan, (1) his sister's son, to the rank and offices of Kurum Deen Khan, placing with him Mohummud Shah Khan, the deceased Khan's Toshukchee, (2) (Chamberlain,) who was disciplining and teaching drill to a corps recently raised

(1) صالح محمد خان (2) توشکچی

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and attached to him. Mohummud Shah Khan finding Saleh Mohummud's temper difficult to manage, left him soon after, and coming back to the Ameer, remained in attendance on his person.

Muharaj Holkur having gone to Indor, was making arrangements for his marriage, of which the Ameer hearing, it seemed to him proper to send Raee Himmut Raee to be present on his part. The Raee accordingly went to Indor and waited on the Muharaj. It is the usual way of wilful fate to be always endeavouring to break the glass-ware friendships of ambitious men against the stones and stumbling blocks of discord; accordingly, the Muharaj, at this time, conceived a suspicion and hate to the Ameer, and began plotting to get rid of him by treachery. He was instigated and encouraged to this mainly by one Guja Koonwur, (1) son of the late Commandant of Shujaelpoor, who found refuge in his camp, and was much dissatisfied at the Ameer's having placed a garrison there to his family's exclusion. This man's words were as oil poured into the fire of the Muharaj's discontents, and converted his dislike into deadly hate. The Koonwur, one day, said to the Muharaj, in order to sow the seed of further mischief—"The Ameer is tampering with Kashee Rao Holkur, and has it in design to seize your person. Have you not observed that he disregards all your orders, and does all sorts of things injurious to your interests? At Shujaelpoor he committed great cruelties, and a number of lives were lost. It is a pity that, as you are the head of this state, and a Hindoo, such things should be done in your name." This kind of speeches set the

(1) گجا کنور

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Muharaj's jealousy in a flame against the Ameer. He asked Raee Himmut Raee whether the Ameer would come in person if invited. The Raee did not then know of the Muharaj's brooding discontents, so he answered with simplicity—"Why should he not come?" and the Muharaj, accordingly, forthwith dismissed him to bring the Ameer. The latter, upon receiving the invitation, lost no time in setting out with a small retinue of about one hundred men, leaving the rest of his army where it was. He was already on the road, when, before intelligence of his movement had reached the Muharaj, Guja Koonwur, who was become intimate, and was admitted to Juswunt Rao's debauches, said to him at a drinking party—"What makes you think the Ameer will come? See how he has already asserted his independence at Shujaelpoor." The Muharaj upon this, not using due discretion in his cups, ordered some of his officers to be ready to march to seize the Ameer, and to bring him by fair or by foul means to his presence. A force had moved for this purpose, and was in march the first stage from Indor, when the Ameer and his party fell in with it on their way thither. Hur Nath Chela, (1) who was in advance of the rest of the party, at the head of two or three thousand horse, coming up to the Ameer's Suwaree, made his Sulam to him. The Ameer asked what he was come for, and the Chela, who was a shrewd man, and saw at once that the Ameer knew nothing of the Muharaj's designs, answered promptly that he was come to give the Ameer the complimentary meeting (Istuqbal). In the midst of this, Sham Rao and Chimna Bhao, and some other officers of the Muharaj came up, and they made a similar reply to the Ameer's

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(1) هرنا تهه چیله

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enquiry, and all turning round went back towards Indor with the Ameer's party. As they rode along the road, they began conversing with one another, saying—"Here the Muharaj has sent us with the worst designs against this man, and he quite unsuspicious places himself in our power—what are we to do?" The Ameer seeing them talking thus to one another in a mysterious manner, began to suspect something wrong, and besides it occurred to him, that so large a party would not have come out to meet him without a purpose. He then reflected that if he could get the Sirdars to mount elephants, and to go on before himself, he should have no fear of present treachery. Accordingly, he called up his Suwaree elephant, and making it to kneel, invited Sham Rao and Chimna Bhao to take seats in the houda, excusing himself by saying, it would be impossible for him to ride on the elephant while they were on horseback. Although they saw through the Ameer's purpose, yet as they did not wish their secret to transpire, they were obliged to yield to the Ameer's pressing entreaties. The Ameer then ordered his horsemen to keep close behind and on both sides of the elephant, and so the Suwaree proceeded till it arrived near Indore. When intelligence of the Ameer's approach was conveyed to the Muharaj he received it without a word, and though it was usual for him to come out two or three kos to meet the Ameer, he did nothing of the kind on this occasion. But when the Ameer's Suwaree arrived within a mile of the city, he came with great apparent indifference and greeted him coldly. The Ameer penetrated the mystery, but he spared none of the outward forms of cordiality, and enquired after the Muharaj's health with all earnestness. The people about Juswunt Rao said, that he was fatigued with sitting up the night before, and not in his usual

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health and spirits. The Ameer, however, discovered from his style of address and manner, which were quite different from what they used to be, that he himself was no longer in favor. Truly, the heart is the mirror which reflects all objects. The Ameer after this, went one day to wait upon the Muharaj, and found Guja Koonwur sitting with him in earnest and close conversation. The Koonwur immediately began accusing the Ameer of cruelties committed at Shujaelpoor, and asked by what right he had done what he had done. The Ameer replied, "By the right of the sword, by which I took the town." That cursed one, whose heart was burning with envy and hate at the plunder of the place, drew a dagger from his belt, and cried, "And I am one who can apply the knife to the throat of the villain who does so." The Ameer was in great wrath at being so spoken to, and wished to revenge the insult by dispatching Guja Koonwur on the spot, but the Holkur officers interfered and prevented bloodshed. Sham Rao Maree who alone of that knot of foolish men, possessed sense and judgment, reproved the Muharaj in open Durbar, for allowing and countenancing such an outrage, and taking the cursed Koonwur by the hand, led him out, saying, "You are bent on the ruin of this house, which to you will involve no loss." Then turning to the Ameer, he said, "Your passion is now up, you had better retire for a while." Whereupon, the Ameer rose and left the Durbar. The Muharaj yielding to Sham Rao Maree, made apologies to the Ameer, but still there was discord and a bad feeling between the two Chiefs, and the Ameer retired to his quarters, keeping aloof from the Durbar, whereupon the Muharaj sent too brigades to pitch their tents close to him, being bent apparently on getting rid of him by some treachery. The Ameer, after four or five days, reflected that nothing

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but evil could come of his remaining on such terms with the Muharaj, and that if their ill-will were once to break out into flame, the extinguishing of it would be difficult, if not impossible: therefore, that it would be better to make advances towards a reconciliation, and so restore the old cordiality which subsisted, if it could be brought about, and if not, that he should keep aloof for a time. Keeping his motives to himself, he went alone one day and asked for an audience of the Muharaj. The people in attendance reported his coming, when the Muharaj asked, "What can he have come for?" They replied, "He is quite alone;" whereupon the Muharaj gave order for his admission. The Ameer said his purpose required privacy. The Muharaj ordered every body away. When the room was cleared, the Ameer taking hold of the Muharaj by the waistband, with his left hand drew a kutar or dagger, which he had by him concealed for the purpose, and presenting it said, "Settle at once your heart's purpose against me. If you think your fortunes will be benefitted by killing me, do it now! there is nothing to prevent you—on the contrary I solicit death at your hands. If men envious of me, have urged you to pursue this line towards me, see here is my life at your service." The Muharaj made apologies for his conduct and dismissed his suspicions, and the old cordiality was restored between him and the Ameer, and they met as before—to the shame, disgrace, and vexation of the cursed meddler who had sowed the seeds of this mischief. Every thing being thus adjusted, the Ameer, after a few days, returned to his own army, leaving the Muharaj at Indore. This happened in the Hejira year 1216.(1)

(1) This date must be an error for 1215, or probably 1214.—The events related occurred all in 1799 and 1800—whereas the Hejira year 1216 commenced on the 14th May 1801, and ended on the 3d May 1802.

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BOOK THE THIRD.

CHAPTER IV.

A. D. 1800.

Mahajee Sindheea's family dissatisfied with Doulut Rao—come to Oojein, and are circumvented and plundered by Muharaj Holkur—they join Lukhwa Dada at Cheetoor, who defeats the Ameer's army while he is away—Lukhwa is in return driven into Shujaelpoor by the Holkur forces—joined by Ambajee—He escapes and flies to Dutteea—the further pursuit of him given up.

THE Baees of Mahajee Sindheea, (1) that is, his wives and concubines, quarrelling with Doulut Rao, left Poona, and came about this time, attended by twenty-five thousand horse and foot, to Oojein. Muharaj Holkur looked upon this as a God-send, and immediately opened a friendly

(1) بائیان مہاجی سندھیہ

(1) From the time of Doulut Rao Sindheea's accession, he was opposed by Mahajee's three widows, supported by Baloba Tanteea, a confidential Minister of the deceased Chief. This man was a Sheuwe Brahmin, of the same caste as Lukhwa Dada, to whose rise he had been mainly instrumental. Doulut Rao early threw himself into the hands of Surjee Rao Ghatkia, whose daughter he afterwards married, and by his means

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correspondence with them. Dissembling his purposes he came to Oojein, and encamping close to them had an interview, in which he said, that the seizing of Doulut Rao would answer no purpose of his, but he would do it out of regard for them, and that the supremacy of the Sindheea family might pass into their hands. That it was great presumption in Doulut Rao to act independent of them, and so with words to the same effect he brought the Baees to look upon him as their staunch friend and associate. The Muharaj had but a small body of troops with him, whereas the Baees' escort was strong. He could not venture, therefore, openly upon any thing to their prejudice. He accordingly wrote to the Ameer to join instantly, as he had a plan to consult him upon. Doulut Rao Sindheea had then recently written to the Muharaj, warning him against having any communication with the Baees; to which the Muharaj wrote in reply, that if Doulut Rao wished it, he would secure all their persons and send them back to him, or settle their business in any other way he desired. In the mean time he had brought the Baees to believe him so wholly of their party, that they had not the slightest suspicion of his designs. Oh, God! Oh, God! that the world should so

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the party of the Brahmins was broken, and most of those who held offices, were dismissed. They made head, however, in the Dukhun, and there was much mutual violence, until Surjee Rao Ghatkia being removed and placed under restraint, a reconciliation took place. In January 1800, Surjee Rao being set at liberty by the advice of Baloba, who had been restored to power, intrigued again for the ruin of the Brahmins, and seizing Baloba, imprisoned him at Ahmednugur, where he died. His brother was blown from a cannon, and Nurayun Rao Bukhshee, of the same caste and party, was fastened to rockets and sent into the air. These violent proceedings added to the measures taken about the same time against the adherents of Nanha Phurnuvees, who was also a Brahmin, raised a strong party against Doulut Rao, and the Baees heading it retired from the Dukhun to Oojein. Of the Baees, Lukhshmee Baee was the eldest, and principal widow of Mahajee. The youngest, Bhugeeruthee Baee, who was very handsome, was accused at one time of intriguing with Doulut Rao.

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teem with deceit and treachery; and that men, for the sake of the enjoyments of a few short days, for such is the limit of their span of life, should commit frauds and crimes to the loss of their good name for evermore, especially persons of rank, and men of distinction and high place in the world—to see such men practising dissimulation and meanness!! Had they in their hearts but a tenth decimal of the piety, and fear of God, and regard for their future state, which they ought to have, what blessings and bounties might they not expect from his Providence and invisible workings in their behalf, which, notwithstanding all their wickednesses, are even now so signally displayed in their favor! But, as are men's dispositions, so will their actions be.

The Ameer hastened to Oojein (1) upon receiving the Muharaj's summons: but the latter, doubting whether the Ameer might not thwart his views, determined to settle the affair with the Baees before he arrived. Accordingly, on the night of the very day before he was to reach Oojein, the Muharaj, without warning given, and while all were in profound sleep and supposed security, opened his artillery suddenly on the Baees' camp, and in the confusion which ensued during the dark, wherein friend was not distinguishable from foe, the troops which composed their escort were overpowered and dispersed. The Baees mounting horses, went off with a few attendants, and sought refuge with Lukhwa Dada, a Surdar of Sindheea's, who was at the time at Jawudh, (2) administering that country for Dowlut Rao. The Muharaj got possession of the Baees' Toshuk-khana, (3) and of jewels of

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(1) اوجین (2) جاودہ (3) توشکخانہ

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immense value, besides all the artillery and stores of their camp. He also invested Oojein, and levied a contribution from it. In the very midst of all this, the Ameer arrived at Oojein, and waited on the Muharaj, and complimented him on the courage and skill which had achieved so vast a conquest from helpless women. The Muharaj feeling the sarcasm, let his head sink upon his chest, and made no reply. In the mean time, the Baees had induced Lukhwa Dada to take up their cause, and that Surdar placing them for security in Cheetor, (1) marched by the route of Sondhwara towards Shujaelpoor. The Ameer's army was at the time at Shahjehanpoor, not far from thence, under the temporary command of Gholamee Khan, whom the Ameer had left in charge, while he hastened over to Oojein upon the Muharaj's summons. There was thus no efficient officer present, and Lukhwa Dada deeming the opportunity favorable, attacked the troops, and threw them into confusion, without experiencing any resistance. He thus took the guns and baggage of the Ameer. It so happened, that the Ameer dreamed that very night that his army had met with some disaster. In the morning, therefore, he took a hasty leave of the Muharaj, who asked the cause of his hurry: The Ameer told his dream, whereupon the Muharaj said, "You must have attained the state of the holy men of older days to tell me this." The Ameer replied, "Although no one can pretend to a knowledge of futurity, still, when a man is peculiarly favored by Providence, it frequently happens that things are revealed to him by dreams. I have myself had frequent experience of this."

(1) چیتور

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The Muharaj made no further answer, and in the course of the day, the Ameer starting from Oojein, came to Tirana, (1) and in the morning heard there of the defeat of his troops by Lukhwa Dada. Continuing his advance, he fell in with the stragglers, and asked the particulars of the action; which gathering from them as well as he could, he went on towards the enemy, until upon the road he met a party of his own special horse, flying sorely dispirited and pursued by a party of the enemy. The Ameer charged the pursuers immediately with the men about him, and stopped the pursuit: putting the enemy to flight, he followed them for five kos, until he recovered his own guns, which had been left in their hands, and then encamped on the bank of a river close by. From hence he wrote to the Muharaj for succour, saying, he had frequently helped the Muharaj in his difficulties, and now hoped for a return. The Muharaj marched immediately to his aid from Oojein. Ambajee Inglia also cooperated, acting under the orders he had before received from Doulut Rao Sindheea to seize Lukhwa Dada whenever he could lay hands upon him. Lukhwa Dada was at this time at Shahjehanpoor—thither the Ameer, with the Muharaj and Ambajee, proceeded, and, surrounding the place, Lukhwa was soon reduced to extremity. He however, had made his peace privately with the Ameer, promising that if an opening for escape were left him, he would in future act in concert with him in all matters when required. To this effect, a regular engagement was ultimately entered into on both sides. The Ameer having yielded to his conditions, mentioned them to the Muharaj, with whose assent the arrangement was concluded. Lukhwa

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(1) ترانه

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Dada, therefore, being thus assured, came out of the town one night and went off to Kheecheewara. (1) The Muharaj, to save appearances with Ambajee, whom he was watching an opportunity to seize, though outwardly treating as a friend, sent the Ameer along with him in pursuit of Lukhwa Dada, while he remained himself at Shahjehanpoor. The Ameer, with Ambajee, came to Rajgurh, (2) in Oomutwara, and having no real wish to sieze or distress Lukhwa Dada, made no great haste in the pursuit. The Muharaj wrote to him to go no further, but to contrive to get Ambajee into his power, but the Ameer liked not the scheme. Reflecting, however, that if he continued in company with Ambajee, the Muharaj might conceive suspicions, he suggested to that officer that it might be as well for him to march a stage or two in advance or in rear. Ambajee, who was not wanting in acuteness, saw through the proposition and acted accordingly, keeping out of the Ameer's way: the Ameer then marched to Patun, (3) where he was joined by the Muharaj. Lukhwa Dada went to Tomyn Bichhar, (4) and was joined by Raja Jysingh and Doorjun Sal, Keechhees, and so reinforced, he suddenly surrounded Bala Rao Inglia, whom he reduced to great straights. In the mean time, the Muharaj and the Ameer moved from Patun to Raghoogurh. (5) Dowlut Rao Sindheea, however, ordered Monsieur Perron from Hindoostan, against Lukhwa Dada. The latter, therefore, making a hasty composition with Bala Rao, went to the fort of Seonda, near Dutteea, (6) in Bundelkhund, where he was well

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(1) کھیچي وارہ (2) راجگڈہ علاقہ اومت وارہ (3) پاٹن

(4) تومین بچھار (5) راگھوگڈہ (6) سیوندہ دتیا

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received by the Chief, Raja Chhutur Sal. Upon this, Mons. Perron on one side, and Ambajee and Bala Rao on the other, went against Seonda, and laid siege to it. Raja Chhutur Sal, of Dutteea, was killed, and Lukhwa himself wounded in the defence of this place, and the latter retired to Dutteea which was deemed too strong to be attacked, so the armies of Sindheea returned to their cantonments.

The Muharaj and the Ameer, in the mean time, marching from Raghoogurh came by the route of Seronj to Mulhargurh, where levying tribute upon several dependencies of Sagur, they were attending to their own affairs, when Close, a Furingee (1) in Sindheea's service, commanding a brigade, came to Seronj, and encamped there. The Amil, on the part of the Ameer, being alarmed, wrote to the Ameer, complaining of excesses committed by this brigade. On hearing of it, the Ameer taking leave of the Muharaj was proceeding to Seronj, when he heard that the Furingee had gone off to Aroun, (2) whereupon he rejoined the camp of the Muharaj. The joint army was now again too large to be subsisted at one place. The Muharaj accordingly proposed, that he should cross over into Soondhwara, while the Ameer proceeded against Sagur. The Ameer approved the plan, and acted accordingly. From Sagur he made the demand of tribute, and reduced Ubhajee to straights, so as to induce him a second time to apply to Rughoojee

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(1) كلوس صاحب فرنگي

(1) The Translator has failed in every endeavour to trace the proper name of this officer.

(2) ارون

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Ghoosla for succour, and to urge that it should be sent with all haste. Raja Rughoojee, of Nagpoor, ordered a brigade to march immediately, but the Ameer hearing of its approach, moved to Deoree Koorchhamur, (1) in Bundelkhund, and there an action ensued, in which he gained a complete victory over the Ghoosla army, but as night came on, its retreat was not much molested. Thence the Ameer retired to his own cantonment (at Seronj,) and staid there some days.

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(1) ديوري كورچهامر

BOOK THE FOURTH.

WAR BETWEEN HOLKUR AND SINDHEEA—OPERATIONS IN HINDOOSTAN AND THE DUKHUN, TO THE TAKING OF POONA BY JUSWUNT RAO.

CHAPTER I.

A. D. 1801.

Doulut Rao sends an army against Holkur under command of Bulwunt Rao Batkura and Major George Hessing—It is defeated.

WHEN Doulut Rao Sindheea heard of the treatment the Baees had experienced at the hands of Juswunt Rao Holkur, he dispatched the brigade of (Jorus Saheb Furingee,) (1) Major George Hessing, with twenty thousand horse and Pindarees, the whole under the command of Bulwunt Rao Batkura, (2) to punish the Muharaj.

(1) Jorus Saheb is a corruption of George Saheb—Major G. Hessing was at this time in command of his father Colonel John Hessing's brigade. The Major is the same officer who was in command of Agra when taken by Lord Lake, and who died not very long ago at Calcutta.

(2) بلونت را وبا تکره

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This general arrived, without a halt, at Oojein, when the Muharaj was in Soondhwara making collections. The latter looking upon his force to be insufficient to meet the enemy in the field, marched from thence to Hooree, (1) a dependancy of Oojein, which is one stage from Hindia, and there falling in with two battalions which were in march to reinforce Batkura, he overpowered them, and being elated with the success, wrote to the Ameer to say, that if he did not desire to join, victory was not dependent on his presence. Doulut Rao himself came up at this period to Hindia, on the south bank of the Nurbuda, and began making arrangements to cross a heavy train of artillery which he had brought with him. The train had passed, when the Muharaj hearing of it made an attempt to carry it, and an action (2) ensued, but upon chain shot being fired from the heavy guns, which cut to pieces whole files at once of the Muharaj's troops, they hesitated to face them, and were defeated. Juswunt Rao upon this failure, retired to Indor, and wrote with all urgency to beg the Ameer to join, in order that he might be strong enough to meet Batkura. The Ameer, though he had taken a little offence at the Muharaj's first letter, still seeing that the good of the cause required that Batkura should be opposed and put down, and thinking it would have a bad appearance if he kept out of the battle, commenced his march from Shujaelpoor, and leaving his rear guard and stores at Tirana on the road, brought up a light force to join in the operations against Batkura. He commenced an attack immediately upon

(1) هوري

(2) Near Sutwas, above the Ghats, into Malwa. Captain Brownrigg commanded Sindheea's troops, and defended himself ably in a strong position. The affair occurred in June 1801.

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his arrival, being determined to show an example of promptitude and intrepidity by being before-hand with the Muharaj. He accordingly surrounded and skirmished with the enemy from morning till evening, and as it grew dark, retired again to Tirana, where his rear guard and baggage had remained. Bulwunt Rao Batkura and Major G. Hessing taking alarm at this boldness of the Ameer, retired towards Oojein, and took shelter under the walls of that town. The Muharaj, who was at the distance of one march only from the field, and heard the cannonade, asked what the firing could mean, and was told, it was the Ameer engaged with Batkura—at hearing which, he was highly delighted, and came by a forced march to join him.

The Muharaj had at this time two brigades with him, one, called the Bheelun (1) Kumpoo, and the other, the Muharaj Kumpoo; of these and of the horse he made an equal division, and put the Bheelun brigade, with half the horse, under the Ameer's command, while he kept the rest under his own. The two divisions then invested Oojein, and reduced Batkura to great straights. (2) An action at last took place between the Bheelun brigade, which was with the Ameer's division, and the enemy's brigade, and the latter were getting the better, when the Commandant of the brigade came in all agitation and haste to beg succour of the Ameer, who, advancing with the men about him, charged home upon the enemy, and broke his ranks with some slaughter. A number, however, of the Ameer's horse fearing for the discharge of the enemy's artillery and musquetry, edged off and kept

(1) بھیلن کمپو

(2) A. D. 1801, July.

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aloof, and hence some confusion ensued; in consequence of which the Ameer thought it expedient to retire from the fight and move towards these men. The Muharaj's troops, who were standing at a little distance, seeing this, betook themselves to flight, thinking the Ameer's men were the enemy. The Muharaj, however, recognizing the Ameer's standards, rallied his men, by telling them the body they feared was the Ameer. They were thus brought up again, and the Muharaj having concerted a plan of attack with the Ameer, the latter went back to his own ground and exhorted his men not to fail him in a second charge, which it was proposed to make simultaneously from both sides. At this time the shot came pouring like hail, nevertheless the Ameer made repeated charges, till at last the enemy's ranks were pierced, and the work of the sword and spear commenced with great slaughter of the fugitives. In the mean time, the Muharaj had charged on his side, and the conflict was equally hot there, the men being engaged in close combat, showed examples of bravery, which reminded the beholders of the battles of Roostum and Asfendiar. The enemy at last were driven to think themselves fortunate if they could escape with life.

VERSE.

The Chiefs have advanced to the thick of the fight,
The Ameer to the left, Juswunt Rao to the right—
Now, Holkur, the lion, most forward appears,
But look at that charge—'tis the gallant Ameer's.
See the former has drawn forth his falchion of trust,
And many brave soldiers have bitten the dust;
Look again to the other side, there the Ameer
Deals death to the foe with his unerring spear;
Both rivals in courage and rivals in fame,
With sword or with spear the result is the same.

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The ranks that vowed vengeance are scattered, dispersed—
Hope flies from the foe and his taunt is reversed;
Pell-mell, helter-skelter, they run from the field,
To their fate even Hessing and Batkura yield—
Thus defeat fell on Doulut Rao's army so proud,
And the Victors their Pæans in triumph sang loud—
Great the booty that fell to the conquering host,
Chiefs! divide ye the glory, enough is the boast.

In short, Batkura and Major G. Hessing were so utterly defeated, as to fly with four or five horsemen only in attendance on them, and so concealed themselves within the walls of Oojein, which being close by, afforded refuge. The Muharaj and the Ameer took their guns, baggage, and an immense booty in stores, horses, elephants, kettle-drums, standards, &c. They then levied a contribution on Oojein. (1) There were near two hundred Europeans of Major Hessing's brigade killed in this action, with numberless sepoys, &c. besides the Suwars of Batkura. The two victorious Chiefs remained some time in that neighbourhood. The battle, above related, was fought in the Hejira year 1217. (2)

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(1) There were sixteen European Officers killed in this action, and seven more were beheaded after surrender. Including all classes of Christians, the number slain, may have been nearly as stated in the text.

(2) A. D. 1802, 4th May to 1803, 22d April, which is another error of date—for the battle was fought in July 1801, that is, in A. H. 1216.

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BOOK THE FOURTH.

CHAPTER II.

A. D. 1801.

Doulut Rao Sindheea detaches a large force under Surjee Rao Ghatkia and Sudasheeo Rao against Muharaj Holkur—Battle of Indor—Muharaj Holkur defeated.

Bulwunt Rao Batkura and Major George Hessing being thus shamefully defeated, betook themselves to the Dukhun, and there reported to Doulut Rao Sindheea their own mishap, and the loss of Oojein. (1) Doulut Rao writhed in an agony of vexation and rage at hearing of this disaster, and marching with all haste from the Dukhun, encamped on the southern bank of the Nurbuda river, and detached thence, against Holkur, a force under Surjee Rao Ghatkia (2) and Suda Sheeo Rao, (3) consisting of the brigades of Burandee Saheb, (4) (Major Brownrigg) Sutluj Saheb, (Major Sutherland) and of

(1) Bulwunt Rao may have gone to the Dukhun, but Major Hessing came to Agra, and was seen there by Sir Charles Metcalfe in February or March 1802.

(2) سرجي راوگهاتکيه (3) سداشيوراو

(4) Burandee Saheb is Major Brownrigg, who took service afterwards with the English, and was killed in Hurreeanah towards the end of 1803. Sutlej Sahib is Colonel Sutherland, who was broken by M. Perron, and died at Muthra. Michael Feloze's son is the present Jean Baptiste Feloze.

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Michael Feloze's son, with a battering train, also his own Rusalas of Cavalry, and Kureem Khan's (1) and Cheetoo Khan's (2) Pindaras, making all together, Mahrattas and Hindoostanees, horse and foot, not less than fifty or sixty thousand men. The two generals crossing the Nurbuda, advanced upon Oojein. Hearing of their approach, the Muharaj, by the Ameer's advice, marched to Indor with both his brigades and the reserves of both armies, that is, of his own and of the Ameer's; and he sent forward the Ameer with fifteen thousand elite of the horse, mostly in mail, to meet and harass the enemy, while he remained himself at Oojein with twenty thousand horse ready for light service, and to act as circumstances might suggest. The Ameer falling in with the enemy, kept him in play, and harassed his line of march for an entire week, but seeing his own great inferiority in numbers, he wrote at last to the Muharaj, that as the enemy was in great strength, it was adviseable he should bring up his troops also, when, having effected a junction, he hoped they might obtain some great advantage.

The Muharaj immediately broke ground, and, joining the Ameer, surrounded the enemy for five days, reducing Sindheea's army to great distress, so much so, that in the course of that time they only made an advance of ten kos. On the sixth day, the Muharaj and the Ameer made an attack on Suda Sheeo Rao, but Surjee Rao moved up all the brigades to his support, and thus brought on a general action. It so happened, that in consequence of there being some Juwar (3) and other fields between

(1) كريم خان (2) چهتو خان

(3) جوار A grain (Holcus Sorzum,) that grows like Indian Corn, and to the same height.

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the Ameer and the Muharaj, the ground over which the action spread extended to a distance of three kos, and the Ameer and the Muharaj were engaged at the extremities of this space out of sight of one another, so that there was a want of proper concert between them.

The Muharaj led a charge, which brought him directly upon the enemy, but the Ameer had no knowledge of it, and Surjee Rao accordingly drove him back with loss, taking some of his guns. The Ameer no sooner heard of the misadventure, than he hastened to the quarter and recovered the lost guns, but felt much vexation that the attack had been made without letting him know of the intention, for, with proper concert, by God's help, the enemy must have been extinguished like a lamp that has burnt out its oil. This will be quite manifest, when it is considered that, although the enemy were strong in cavalry at the point, yet their horse were only Pindaras, who make no stand in close fight, and hold it no disgrace to throw away their shields and fly from the field. Whereas the Ameer had his body of Afghans of the same tribe with himself, tried men, desperate in fight, who always behaved well, and with a high sense of the necessity of maintaining the honor of the Afghan name.

After the above affair, the skirmishing and harassing system was continued for five more days. On the sixth, the Muharaj and Ameer adopted the following plan:—Sending off their baggage and reserves to the further side of Indor, so as to be well in their rear, they placed the city between them and the enemy, and took post behind a deep ditch or nulla, which is to the north of it. The guns were placed in battery at a point which covered the ditch in question, and the Muharaj took post immediately

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behind them, while the Ameer, with his fifteen thousand horse, threatened the enemy's rear from a point about three kos off from the Muharaj's station.

Major Brownrigg, who commanded Sindheea's brigades, seeing this disposition, went to Surjee Rao, and undertook to secure a victory if he would answer for watching and keeping in play the Ameer. The guns, he said, he would certainly capture on that condition, but as the Ameer's cavalry were difficult to handle, and it was essential that he should not interfere with the battle in front, he advised that all the horse not required for his own attack, should be turned against him. Surjee Rao approved this plan, and directed Major Brownrigg, with two brigades and two thousand horse, against Juswunt Rao and the artillery, while he turned the rest of the army, consisting of two brigades of infantry, with all the cavalry and Pindaras, the Jinsee, or train, &c. under his own immediate command, against the Ameer. From morning to three or four P. M., the fire of artillery and musquetry continued on both sides. As the Muharaj and the Ameer had no knowledge of the enemy's plan of battle, the Ameer sent to solicit aid from the Muharaj, fearing to be overpowered, and he, leaving Hurnath Chela, Chimna Bhao, and Sham Rao Maree, (1) to support the artillery, came himself round with a large body of horse to join the Ameer. Major Brownrigg no sooner heard that the Muharaj had left the post he was attacking, in order to join the Ameer, and that there was nobody of any experience or credit to oppose him, than he made a charge of both horse and foot with all haste upon the battery where

(1) Sir J. Malcolm calls this Chief Sham Rao Madik, but the name is always written Maree ماري in these Memoirs.

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all the guns were posted. The enemy were evidently gaining advantage, in that part of the field, over Holkur's troops, when the Muharaj called to the Ameer, to make haste and protect the guns, while he staid to maintain the fight where he was. The Ameer went with a loose rein, but as it was a distance of three or four kos that he had to ride, he out-stripped his main body and arrived at the point with only three hundred horse. Surjee Rao seeing his opportunity in the movement of the Ameer, attacked the Muharaj and gained the victory over him, continuing the pursuit to the further side of the town of Indor, where was the Muharaj's reserve and baggage. In the mean time, the enemy's brigades having crossed the ditch or river, had already taken the guns in their position; when the Ameer arrived at a gallop on the bank. He immediately determined to cross, in order to annihilate the assailants. They opened upon him, however, with grape and round shot, before he was well over, and the shot fell about him like the rain of the day of judgment, and by an unfortunate accident, the Ameer's horse, named Burchhee Buhadoor (1) was killed on the spot. The Ameer's nephew, Saleh Mohummud Khan, dismounted immediately, and gave up his horse to the Ameer, and getting another from a common trooper, mounted again by his side; but from the loss of time, in consequence of this accident, and from the Ameer's men supposing, when his horse fell, that it was all over with their General, they had, for the most part, taken to flight. The Ameer, however, continued the fight with the companions still about him, and recovered thirty-five of the Muharaj's guns, of which the enemy had made themselves masters.

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(1) برچهي بهادر

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The battle (1) continued till two hours of the night had passed, (about seven or eight P. M.) when seeing nothing further to be gained, the Ameer retired towards the camp and rear guard. The Muharaj was doing the same thing when the two Chiefs met, and the Muharaj said—"If such be the will of God, there is no help! but we require now the aid of the Almighty. Let us look out for ground on which to encamp for the night." About this time it was reported that there was a considerable body of the enemy following the Ameer's men, and close at hand. The Ameer could not bring himself to fly before them, so he turned upon the enemy and staid their pursuit, making many of them provender to the sword of his revenge. In the course of the night, the two Chiefs arrived at Jam-gaon,(2) which is one stage from Indor, and there encamped. For a week, the defeated armies remained there.

One night, the Ameer went over to the Muharaj, and found him in loud and bitter lamentation. The Ameer asked, why he thus grieved, when the Muharaj replied, that so long as Sindheea was with his army in the Dukhun, his own troops had the ascendancy in Malwa, and supported themselves without difficulty, but he could now see no chance of keeping them together, for he had nothing in his treasury wherewith to pay them, while from inferiority of number and equipment, they were evidently unequal to cope with the enemy. The Ameer said,

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(1) This battle was fought on the 14th October 1801. On the side of Sindheea, there were fourteen of DeBoigne's regular battalions present. Juswunt Rao Holkur's Infantry was very inferior, and the loss of the day was ascribed to this cause. The defeat was complete, and if properly followed up, would have been fatal to the Holkur cause.

(2) جام گانون

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"Trouble not yourself about this matter, I will find a remedy. Pray only that the great God may open upon us the gates of his bountiful mercy." The Muharaj asked how this was to be brought about. The Ameer said, "I recommend our immediately marching from this place, and levying contributions for our support, avoiding for a time any action with the enemy." The Muharaj said, "How can we move a mile without money?" The Ameer thereupon rose and went over to his own camp, and called there a council of all his officers and Sirdars, and thus addressed them: "Let every one who studies his own ease, at the sacrifice of that of his family and children hereafter, take his discharge immediately. On the other hand, those who are prepared for harrassing duty by night and day, for wandering over deserts, and scaling mountains in search of high fortune, let such follow me." All replied immediately—"If our heads were this instant to be severed from our bodies, we would not consent to leave your service." An agreement was accordingly entered into on the spot, and the whole party knelt in earnest prayer for success to their future enterprises.

The Ameer having thus assured himself of the disposition of his own men, returned to the Muharaj, and stated that he had quite satisfied his people, and if the Muharaj would send for the influential men of his army, and ascertain their dispositions also, it would be well.

Accordingly, the Muharaj called a meeting of them, and asked what was their feeling as to a continuance in his service. Some of them at first, disguising their sentiments very imperfectly, talked in such a manner as to show their inclination to be for abandoning the service;

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but on further consideration, through the Ameer's persuasion, and upon being assured that the Afghans would be true to the cause, which was a great source of confidence to them, all were brought to profess a seeming acquiescence.

Accordingly, next day, the Muharaj and the Ameer both moved towards Rutlam and encamped, but their followers were comparatively few, and the desertions were great, and many never moved from the old ground. The Ameer then hit upon this expedient to bring up those who hung back. He paid a rupee round to every Suwar present, and gave out that this was to be the daily pay of every horseman who might choose to continue in the service, and that it would be paid daily in cash. After the second day's march he made a similar issue to all present, seeing which, all those who remained at the ground about Jam, came on and joined. The Ameer then went to the Muharaj and said—"I have no more money left for distribution. Do you now come forward with some aid to the cause." The Muharaj, accordingly, for that day, issued the daily pay to the men of both armies. On the next day, again marching, the armies made themselves master of a place belonging to Sindheea, which was full of valuable property, so that a large booty was obtained. The fame of this brought in a great number of stragglers who were hovering about, and began to see that plenty and wealth were still within reach under the old standard. Accordingly, from this time forward, the army appeared in the field as respectable in number as ever.

Again marching, a contribution was levied on a place belonging to the Dhar Chief, and then the army being sufficiently recruited, attacked and carried Rutlam, which

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belonged to Sindheea, and pillaged it. Here a very large booty in money and stuffs, and likewise a store of cloves, cardamums, sugar, &c. fell to the people of the two camps, so that all were provided to their heart's content. The army then moved upon Jawudh (1) in Malwa, near Neemuch, (2) and here it was that the brigade of the Chevalier Dudrenec (Hujur Beg,) joined. It had been on march from Muheshur to Tonk Rampoora, in order to attach itself to the force of Monsieur Perron, but was brought back to join the Muharaj by the agency of Sham Rao Maree, a servant of Holkur's, who had been detached to Kota, and there tampered with the men. The Chevalier himself separated from them, staying where he was. The Muharaj, and the Ameer, having thus recruited their forces and fortunes, returned to Indor, and the Muharaj consulted with the Ameer as to their future proceedings, for he was convinced that something must be done, inasmuch as it was impossible to remain where they were, and support their army in the vicinity of Sindheea's superior force.

It was resolved, that the two brigades of infantry, with a body of cavalry, should be left at Indor, and that the Muharaj and Ameer should move on Muheshur, the latter taking with him five hundred picked men, and that endeavour should be made to raise funds in that neighbourhood. This plan was accordingly adopted. Doulut Rao Sindheea, however, hearing of these proceedings, sent Kureem Khan and Cheetoo Khan, with other Pindaras, to attack the troops of the Muharaj and Ameer. They surrounded Indor, and reduced the brigades left there to

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(1) جاودہ (2) نیمچ

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some straight, for both the leaders of credit, that is, the Muharaj and the Ameer being away, there was nobody left fit to command. The Indor army accordingly being hard pushed, retired to the Simrorghat, (1) which affording a strong position, it encamped, deeming the ghats and ravines a protection. The Pindaras, however, coming upon these troops, again harassed and got the better of them, when, upon the intelligence reaching the Muharaj's ears, he detached the Ameer to their succour. The Ameer took with him from Muheshur one hundred of his own horse and about two thousand of the men of his reserve, and went towards the detachment that was in jeopardy. The Pindaras came out against him and attacked him on the line of march, surrounding his party on all sides. The Ameer threw his rear guard and baggage into a village close by, and went boldly out with his horse to meet the enemy, crossing a rivulet for the purpose. The Pindaras had laid an ambuscade, and came suddenly from their cover to a close charge. The Ameer seeing the preparation for this, called out—"Let no one fire his matchlock till I give the word, and when the enemy is quite close, and I do give it, let all fire and charge together, and the result must be fatal." The men did as ordered, some of them putting two or three bullets into their matchlocks, and so waited till the enemy arrived quite close to their position. The Ameer then gave the word to fire and the effect fully answered his expectation. A great number of men were at once put hors de combat, and the Pindaras losing heart, gave up their design of attacking the Ameer's party, and retired. Their retreat was soon converted into flight, and the Ameer then joined

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(1) گھاٹہ سمرور

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the Muharaj's troops who had been hemmed in and surrounded by the Pindaras, and carried them back to Indor, where they were soon joined by the Muharaj himself. All the infantry, viz. both brigades, then took the route to Kandes, (1) the rear guard and baggage being left at Muheshur, while the Muharaj and the Ameer, with Imaum Buksh and Kader Buksh, (2) Pindaras, and other Suwars, turned suddenly upon Oojein, and passed the night at a spot distant from the city about four kos. Early in the morning, the Pindaras of the party were ordered to show themselves, and draw out the Pindaras from Oojein towards the spot where the Ameer and the Muharaj were. Accordingly, the Holkur Pindaras going towards the ground where the camels of Sindheea's army were grazing, brought away three hundred of these animals, which the enemy were afraid to attempt to rescue. The Ameer and Muharaj carried them off with them and returned to Indor. Thence marching by Dhar, Amjhera, Jhaloda, Dulooleea, and Purtabgurh, (3) levying contributions as they went, they reached a place between Jawudh and Neemahera, (4) where they halted for some days. Thence they marched to the great Nâth-Dwara, (5) and endeavoured to get into their power the Nathjee Poojaree, (6) the head of the Brahmins at that place of sanctity, in order to extort money from him. He, however, had fled on first hearing of the

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(1) خاندیس

(1) The spelling of this name is wrong in the Persian original, it should be *Kandes*, کاندیس from *Kan*, a mine, and *Des*, country.

(2) امام بخش قادر بخش

(3) دهار — امجهره — جهالوه — دلولیا — پرتاب گڈه

(4) نیماهیره (5) ناتهه دوارهٔ کلان (6) ناتهه جي پوجاری

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approach of the two Chiefs. From the inferior Brahmins fifty-thousand rupees were obtained, and the army then went to lesser Nâth-Dwara, (1) where only six thousand were realized. Hearing of these proceedings, Sindheea's army under Bala Rao Inglia, Suda Sheeo Rao Bukshee, Kureem Khan, and Cheetoo Khan Pindaras, and having with them the two Brigades of Shekh Kulub Ulee (2) and Dawes, of Perron's service, came against the Muharaj. When this army had arrived at a short distance from that of Holkur, the Muharaj, not choosing to meet it in the field, marched off, along with the Ameer, by Shahpoor to Tonk, (3) levying contributions as they went. Sunkh (4) Saheb's (Captain Symes's) battalion, one of Perron's, which had been left for the defence of Tonk, fled on hearing of the approach of the Muharaj and Ameer, and took refuge in the Fort of Rampoora, which is now called Uleegurh (5). The Muharaj and Ameer marching from Tonk by Aleegurh, Indurgurh, (6) and the Lakheree (7) pass, arrived within three kos of Kota, and levied there a contribution, which was divided forthwith amongst the men in company. Here there was a halt made, until the enemy's troops came near, when the two Chiefs, starting again through Haraotee, by Gogul-Chupra, (8) Rajgurh, and Patun, (9) and levying contributions every where as before, came to Ashta, (10) where also a levy was made, and the army then crossed the Nurbuda

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(1) ناتهه دواري خورد (2) شيخ كلب علی (3) شاهپور ٹونک

(4) The Officer referred to by this name is Captain Symes, Commanding a Battalion of Nujeebs, in Monsieur Perron's first Brigade. He died at Sekundra a short time before the war with the British.

(5) علي گڈه (6) اندرگڈه (7) گهاٹ لاكهيري

(8) هاراوتي-گوگل چهپره (9) راجگڈه پاٹن (10) اشٹه

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near Hindia, and moved to Khurgaon Buteesee. (1) Here a halt was made of some days to allow the baggage and rear-guard, which had been summoned from Muheshur, to join, and both Chiefs then passed by the Sondhwah (2) fort and ghat—the Muharaj with the design of moving on Chandor, while the Ameer should penetrate into Kandes. It was settled between the two that there should be no promiscuous pillage henceforward, but that the system of levying contributions should be put in force, and that the two armies acting separately should demand them every where, let the territory belong to whomsoever it might. If payment were refused and the troops opposed, the place should be carried and the garrison put to the sword, and the Chiefs at the head of the resistance, utterly ruined and destroyed.

These transactions occurred in the Hejira year 1216. (3)

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(1) کھرکون بتیسی (2) ازگھاٹہ قلعہ سوندھوہ

(2) Called Sindhwa in English maps.

(3) A. D. 1801, 14th May to 3d May 1802.—The original has here 1219 Hejira, but it is evidently a mistake of the transcriber. The events occurred mostly in 1801. Juswunt Rao appeared in Kandes in the early part of 1802.

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BOOK THE FOURTH.

CHAPTER III.

A. D. 1802.

Muharaj Holkur proceeds to Chandor, and the Ameer towards Doulutabad by the way of Oosur and Jalna—Falls in with Sudasheo Rao, Sindheea's General—Affair at Alee Khundee—The Ameer avoids a battle and retires before the enemy, but is attacked and suffers defeat.

THE two commanders of high fortune having conceived that it would conduce to the further rise of the star of their destiny were they to separate for a time, the Muharaj marched for Chandor (1) and thence to Nasik-nirung, which is on the Godavuree, (2) and after having levied contributions there he returned to Chandor, where he fixed his head-quarters. The Ameer also deeming it expedient to traverse Kandes, commenced his march and arrived at Maleegaon, (3) where he levied a contribution. Crossing the ghat there he came upon the territory of Inchor, (4) the

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(1) ناسک نرنک (2) گوداوري (3) مالي‌گانون (4) انچور

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chief of which, styled ordinarily Inchorkur, (1) prepared to give him battle with a force of only five or six thousand horse and foot. The Ameer himself was proceeding on his elephant to take part in the action, when, even upon the line of march, his troops finished the affair with that ill-fated one, and defeating him took Inchor and made prize of a large booty. Thence again marching into the Aurungabad (2) territory and levying contributions as he went, the Ameer passed close by the city of that name to Oosur, (3) which, though a very strong place, was taken by assault and plundered. After arranging a consideration for the surrender of the place, the Ameer passed on to Deogaon, (4) belonging to Nizam Ulee Khan of Hyderabad, which he also pillaged. Here however Suda Sheeo Rao, Sindheea's bukhshee, with the brigades of Shekh Kulub Ulee, and of Captain Dawes, and with Kureem Khan's and Cheetoo Khan's Pindaras, who were following the Ameer, came up with him, and there was ground for believing that the Rao was acting in concert with the troops of Nizam Ulee Khan under Soobhan Khan. (5) Muharaj Holkur was at Chandor, ten or twelve marches distant from the Ameer, and there was no support nearer; so, for want of regular infantry, the Ameer avoided giving battle, but plundered Jalna, (6) and returned to Oosur. Halting there two days, he marched again with his rear-guard and baggage, and passed close by Aurungabad to Varee-Subungor, (7) on the Godavuree,

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(1) The place is written Inchor in Persian, but by Europeans this Chief is invariably styled Vinshorkur.

(2) اورنگ آباد (3) عسر (4) ديوگانون (5) سبحان خان
(6) جالنه (7) واري سبنگور

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which place was then held by Raeejee Putêl. Here he encamped and levied a contribution.

While he was thus halting, a native of the country brought the Ameer word, that if promised a part in recompense of the service, he could point out a buried treasure. The Ameer, agreeing to his terms, sent Mohummud Shah Khan and Gholamee Khan, his confidential companions, to dig for and bring the treasure. When they had reached the spot and penetrated to the place of deposit, a strange thing presented itself. First there was a shelf, or recess, in a wall, which being removed, they found a small door within; they then lighted torches and entered, passing by several flights of steps which lay before them, and so came at last to the door of a chamber, which they also broke through. On entering the inner chamber, they saw a number of large earthen vessels which were closed at the top, with lime and clay. Mohammud Shah Khan having opened one, was on the point of thrusting his hand into it, in his eagerness to possess himself of the treasure, when Gholamee Khan stopped him, saying, "Did you never hear the saying—'snakes lie where treasure is hoarded?' Perhaps there may be a snake in that vessel ready to bite you." Mohummud Shah Khan upon this took the precaution to ascertain first what might be within, and laid hold of a little pot for melting butter, which happened to be there, and with it examined the contents, when, instead of finding the earthen vessels full of gold, he discovered nothing in them but white eggs. In his rage, he struck the pot against the eggs and broke some of them, when, to the astonishment of all, a young snake, like a worm, (Khura-

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teen,) came out of each egg. The two officers returned to report this to the Ameer, bringing some of the eggs with them, which were broken in his presence, and the Ameer saw with his own eyes, the wonderful works of Providence, and refrained from further seeking the treasure. He was satisfied, however, that there had really been a hoard in the place from which the snakes had their origin.

Marching thence, he encamped at a place between Gaeegaon and Tonka, (1) belonging to the Peshwa, near to which was a temple of great sanctity with the Hindoos; but it was on the opposite side of the Godavuree, and the river could only be passed in boats. The Ameer, therefore hit upon the following plan to get at the place. He called out that he had come to worship Muhadeo, and to make an offering at the shrine. The Brahmins believing this, replied, "very good, come over alone and welcome." The Ameer promised to do so, whereupon, they loosened and sent across one of the boats they had fastened on that side. The Ameer put into it two hundred picked men in mail and so crossed, and this party secured and sent over some more boats, wherein he crossed his whole army, in a very short time. Thus having made himself master of the place, he gave it up to pillage, and realized a large booty in money, jewels, valuable stuffs, &c. He then treated with the Brahmins, and contrived to extract from them a further large sum of money, as the condition of restoring the plundered articles, and of saving what remained to them from pillage and pollution, but two or three days after the Ameer had passed, Nagoojee

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(1) گاي گانون وتونکا

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Pundit (1) and Nuwab Shuhamut Khan, (2) of Holkur's service, who were always in advance or in rear of the Ameer's troops, arrived at the place, and carried off all that the Ameer had restored or spared.

The Ameer afterwards uniting his forces with those of Nagoo Pundit, moved with him to Narayungurh, (3) a very strong place, and encamped there. His men who had gone towards the fort to purchase provisions, were ordered off by the garrison, and a squabble ensued, hearing which more men of the camp ran out to support their comrades, and the Ameer being informed of the circumstance, made ready two guns with drag ropes and commenced firing, whereupon the garrison taking alarm, fled to their fort, but the men of the Ameer's camp were close upon their heels, and got in at the gate along with them, and so made themselves masters of the outer works. The garrison were in the same manner pursued to a second gate, which was similarly entered and taken possession of, whereupon the enemy sued for quarter, and surrendered the place.

The Ameer having thus conquered the fort, took away the guns he found in it, and marched off in the morning. He had barely reached his new ground, when Suda Sheeo Bukhshee came up with his brigades and Pindaras, reinforced by twenty-five thousand fresh horse. The Ameer not thinking it prudent to give battle while encumbered with his baggage and rear guard, sent them off towards Alee Khuree, (4) and with a light

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(1) ناگوجي پندت (2) نواب شهامت خان

(3) نراين گڈه (4) عالي کهڈي

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body of horse advanced to hold the enemy in play. With these he made a stand, and continued skirmishing, until, by degrees, he was driven upon his baggage and rear guard. Suda Sheeo Rao then surrounded the Ameer's army from the morning to three or four o'clock in the day, and kept him engaged all the while. The Ameer at about that hour passed a small stream which crossed the road, and was followed closely by the Bukhshee's horse, who no sooner crossed the stream, than they fell upon the troops of Nagoo Pundit and Nuwab Shuhamut Khan, and gained such advantage over these Chiefs as to entitle them to claim a victory. Elated with their success, they came next against the Ameer. As the day was near its close, and there was little time left, the Ameer's companions told them to go away satisfied with what they had done, and not to think them no better than Nagoojee Pundit and Nuwab Shuhamut Khan. But as the conceit of their valour was strong in their heads, they would not attend to the admonition, and attacked the rear of the body of men with the Ameer. Upon this Jumsheed Khan, (1) Mohummud Sueed Khan, (2) with forty other independent horsemen, (Yekas) inured to battle, turned upon them, and repelled their attack, putting them to a precipitate flight. Another party of the enemy's horse then coming round, appeared at the head of the Ameer's column; whereupon, without counting their numbers, the Ameer determined on making a stand, for he reflected that, to retire before them then would be pusillanimity, and victory did not depend on numbers, but was the gift of God. Accordingly, he ordered his standard elephant to be turned direct against the enemy,

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(1) جمشید خان (2) محمد سعید خان

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and himself provoked at their insolence, entered into the battle, and drawing his sword set it swimming like a fierce aligator in the sea of noble-daring and hard fight. The Ameer exerted himself in the play of sword and spear with such effect on this occasion, that the envious lost patience. The consequence was, that the enemy were defeated and took to flight with such little regard for their honor, that when they came again to the rivulet above-mentioned, they fell pell-mell over one another into it in the greatest confusion. The Ameer's men pursued to this point, and some crossed the stream after the runaways, but here the enemy's brigades were formed in square in order to give protection to the flying horse. The Ameer was desirous of keeping up the battle in the night, and of hovering about the enemy, till an opportunity might offer of falling upon them in their panic. His men, however, were fatigued with the march and fight of the whole day, and being disinclined to the project, urged the Ameer to retire and give them rest. The Ameer, accordingly, re-crossed the stream referred to, and encamped with his reserve and baggage, and next morning sent the latter into the fort of Alee Khuree, (1) which was at no great distance, while with his light troops, he again faced the enemy and kept up a skirmishing fight for the whole day. As nothing decisive took place, both armies encamped again on their old ground.

Muharaj Holkur hearing of what was passing, moved from Chandôr towards the Ameer, and had by this time, arrived within a day's march, whereat the latter's troops were elate, and represented that, as succour was so near at

(1) عالي كهڈي

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hand, the best plan was to be content with guarding the passes, on the further side of which the enemy continued, and to wait the Muharaj's arrival before again attacking him. The Ameer was not quite satisfied with this advice, but yielded to his men and dismounting his cavalry, united with Nagoojee Pundit and Nuwab Shuhamut Khan in taking positions to defend the ghats, the Pundit and Nuwab guarding certain of the passes, while the Ameer with his men held watch at others. Suda Sheeo Rao Bukhshee upon this detached the brigade of Captain Dawes to force a ghat, which Nagoojee and Shuhamut Khan were defending with ten or twelve thousand men. The brigade, after manœuvering and changing front, made a sudden attack to the left, which put to flight the troops of the Pundit and Nuwab. These being composed chiefly of raw levies—ran at the first charge, without waiting to receive the shock, and sought only to save themselves up the rugged pathways of the hills and ravines. The enemy having thus forced the pass, ascended the table land and got round to a point where they were above the posts, occupied by the Ameer to guard the passes allotted to him. From this elevation, they began firing down on his men below. The Ameer saw that it was impossible to dislodge them from their then advantageous position, and his men began to give way. In short, he, in this instance, suffered a defeat, and lost two guns, which were left behind in consequence of the carriages breaking down in the ghat, while he himself and his men effected a retreat through the ravines.

While this was going on, Muharaj Holkar came up with his army, and encamped on the field of battle, and

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it was then determined by him, in consultation with the Ameer, to move directly upon Poona. (1)

The events related in this Chapter, occurred in the Hejira year 1217. (2)

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(1) It appears from the correspondence of Colonel Close, that Poona became exposed in consequence of the defeat of Nana Poornnduree, a General of the Peshwa's, by Futeh Singh Mania, with Holkar's brigades of infantry. The action occurred on the 7th October 1802, while Suda Sheeo Rao was occupied with Ameer Khan in Kandes. Suda Sheeo was called away in consequence for the defence of the capital, and moved rapidly on Poona by Koragaon, while Juswunt Rao marched from Choomargoonda to Bara-Mutee, and there effected a junction with Futeh Singh Mania. Ameer Khan is quite silent as to any successes of this General, and would leave it to be inferred, that the whole war centered in his own operations.

(2) A. D. 1802, 4th May to 22d April, 1803.

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BOOK THE FOURTH.

CHAPTER IV.

A. D. 1802.

March of Muharaj Holkur with the Ameer towards Poona to attack the army of Doulut Rao Sindheea—Union of Bajee Rao Peshwa with Doulut Rao, and defeat of their joint forces by Juswunt Rao Holkur and the Ameer—The Peshwa retreats to Marh in the Konkan—The Ameer's pursuit thither—The Peshwa's flight from Marh to Sevan-Droog on the sea shore—The Ameer's attack of that place, and the Peshwa's flight to Bombay, the English settlement, in a boat, to ask the aid of that nation, leaving all his followers at Sevan-Droog, whence they were carried back to Poona by the Ameer.

WHEN Muharaj Holkur had effected a junction with the Ameer, it occurred to the latter to propose that the brigade of Hujur (1) Beg, and the rest of the infantry, which were about Pundurpoor, (2) under the command of Futeh Singh Maneea, (3) should be ordered to concen-

(1) The Chevalier Dudrenec, whose men had been enticed away by Sham Rao Maree—Vide page 147.

(2) پندل پور (3) فتح سنگه مانیان

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trate and wait their arrival, and a junction being effected, that the whole force should march on Poona, and try the metal of its courage against Sindheea's army.

In conformity with this advice, the march was commenced next morning, and with the intervention of occasional halts to collect contributions by the way, a junction was effected near Pundurpoor with the brigades in question. Suda Sheeo Rao, Doulut Rao Sindheea's Bukhshee, who had been sent with two brigades, and some Pindaras and other horse, to follow Juswunt Rao Holkur and the Ameer, had left them, as stated above, and made for Poona: whereupon Juswunt Rao and the Ameer, with the two brigades of infantry, their own special horse, the Pindaras and others, marched from Pundurpoor to Jhoorjhooree, (1) which is about ten kos from Poona. A letter was here written to Bajee Rao to this effect—"That the Holkur and Sindheea factions were the same in the balance to his Highness: for him, therefore, to show partiality to one, and estrangement from the other party, much less to side absolutely with either, was not the part of the high lord of both. That it would more become his dignity to keep up a friendly understanding with the two parties and bring about a reconciliation, or if precluded from adopting this course, that at any rate he should give protection and countenance to neither, but stand aloof from the contest and leave them to settle matters as they might."

As Bajee Rao was at this time on good terms with Doulut Rao Sindheea, he had no desire to attempt bring-

(1) Jejooree in the English maps. (1) جیجوری

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ing the two parties to a reconciliation. Muharaj Holkur perceiving this, marched from Jhoorjhooree to the town of Hurb, (1) and, again, wrote to his Highness, but as it was the will of fate that ruin should fall on a host of people, and the order of things be reversed, faction ceased not to rage, nor was the flame of discord extinguished: There were at that time with Suda Sheeo Rao Bukhshee near one hundred thousand horse and foot of Sindheea's, including the brigades of Shekh Kulub Ulee and of Capt. Dawes (2) belonging to M. Perron; the Poonah troops also had been called out, and were under Bajee Rao Peshwa. On the other side, there were about seventy thousand horse and foot in the two brigades of Futeh Singh Maneea, the Alee Gholes and others, with the special horse and Pindaras attached to Juswunt Rao and the Ameer.

Both armies prepared for action, and their line was formed, and the spirit of mischief and mutual injury was

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(1) شهر هرب Grant Duff calls the place Harupseer.

(2) Sir Barry Close, in his letters of the 24th and 25th October 1802, says—that Juswunt Rao made a march of nine kos on the 23d, and encamped at Loni, four kos only from Suda Sheeo's lines. On the 24th, Bajee Rao sent a deputation to him, with proposals for accommodation, which it was expected Holkur would accept, but he rejected them, and attacked Suda Sheeo's position next morning at nine A. M. Bajee Rao moved out on the morning of the 25th, with the Zuree Putka and all his troops, to join Suda Sheeo, sending his minister, Rugoonath Rao, to conclude a preliminary engagement for subsidizing a British force actually during the battle. This had been for sometime under negociation, but the cession of territory for payment of the force was a point upon which Bajee Rao could not, until this moment, be brought to make up his mind. His alarm at the consequences to his own independence was equal, whether the victory should be with Holkur or Sindheea.

(3) The name in the original is *Watts*, but Col. Skinner is the authority for this change, and all accounts concur in the fact that Captain Dawes commanded the brigade in question, and was killed in the action. Under him was an officer of the name of Catts, who was also killed in the same battle. Major Watts was an officer in Holker's service, who had been got rid of before. Ameer Khan may well have misrecollected

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stirred up in all quarters; security and peace fled to their hiding places and were no where found, and the rattle of the drums, in the tumult they raised in the firmament, rent the drum of heaven's ear with their din, while the bursts of artillery, like the thunder of the storm, broke forth at intervals, making the Earth to tremble as at the day of judgment.

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the name, amidst the confusion of so many similar monosyllables. In the Bengal newspapers of December, 1802, there is an account of this action, professing to be from an eye-witness. The battle was fought on the 25th October, 1802, and the forces engaged are thus estimated—

On the side of Sindheea and the Peshwa, the writer seems to give the numbers with some authority, viz.—

Four Battalions of Sutherland's Brigade under Captain Dawes, ..	3,000
Seven Battalions of Ambajee, (Shekh Kulub Ulee's Brigade) ..	4,500
Four Battalions of the Peshwa, (said to be very inferior,)	2,500
Cavalry of Sindheea, *as mustered the day before the action*, ...	68,000
Peshwa's Cavalry, ...	6,000
Total Horse and Foot,.....	84,000

With *eighty* pieces of Cannon.

On the side of Holkur, there appear strange inaccuracies.—

Four Battalions under Colonel Sutherland, ...	5,000
Five Ditto ditto Major Vickars, ...	4,000
Four Ditto ditto Major Armstrong, ...	2,500
Three Ditto ditto Native Commandants	2,300
Sheermust Khan's Infantry, ...	1,500
Meer Khan's Ditto, ...	600
Irregulars, mostly Rohillas, ...	6,000
Cavalry by computation, ...	125,000
	1,44,000

With, it is said, at least *two hundred capital* Guns. This enormous exaggeration is evidently that of a partizan of Bajee Rao or Sindheea, smarting under the shame of recent defeat. Amongst the commanders named as in the army of Holkur, not one was present, and two never were in Juswunt Rao's service, viz. Colonel Sutherland and Major Armstrong. Captain Harding, anEnglishman, commanded all the Holkur infantry, and it was by them that the day was gained. He was killed by a cannon shot at the close of the action. Sir Barry Close reports the action very briefly, but adds—"Of the four European officers who served with Sindheea's infantry, three are taken wounded,—the fourth appears to be missing." He mentions the death of the Senior European Officer on Holkur's side, but does not name him. The prisoners were all put to death. Grant Duff names Major Vickars as present in this action, but this is scarcely consistent with the fact that Captain Harding was the officer killed, and with Close's declaration, that the Commandant of all the infantry was killed.

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VERSES.

The moving masses on both sides,
Met like the waves of mighty tides,
Fierce was the conflict, hot the strife
The summonses to death were rife,
Swift as the shot the cannon left,
Heads were of cooler sense bereft—
Nay! as the priming's smoke rose whitening,
The dark clouds quivered with quick lightning,
And the thundering peel heaven's ear had split—
But the clouds like cotton deadened it.
O'er head the smoke a canopy
Spread like another under sky.
Endurance slippery footing found,
And firmness tottered to the ground;
Some cried in haste, in flight, or fear,
Hold up! spur on! the battle's here!
Ah me! God help us! groan'd the wounded,
And all in wild uproar confounded,
Drove sense and reason from the brain,
So fathers knew not sons again.

To return, when the Sirdars of Muharaj Holkur's army were at the council on the night before battle, they represented that, up to this time, all the victories that had been gained, were in the name of the Ameer, but they were now desirous, that the credit of the great battle of the morrow should be with the Muharaj himself; for, if victory followed, as they hoped, it would be the foundation of a great name. The Muharaj approved this, and laid out the plan of the battle as follows:—

Futeh Singh Maneea's two brigades and the Muharaj's special brigade, supported by Nuwab Shuhamut Khan and Nagoo Pundit, with some Pindara and other horse, were posted on the right wing, rather in advance. In the center was the body of the Ameer's horse, while the Muharaj's

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household and personal troops were posted on the extreme left. The Muharaj himself, with his body guard of picked men, and the Ameer with his Eka Suwars, (self-mounted troopers) took station in the rear upon elephants, to regulate the battle.

On the other side, Bajee Rao Peshwa posted the brigades of Shekh Kulub Ulee and of Capt. Dawes belonging to M. Perron's troops, in advance with the artillery of his army. On his right, he had the Poona Sirdars and his special troops, Mahrattas and others, natives of the Dukhun. To the left, were Sindheea's cavalry under Suda Sheeo Rao and other leaders.

According to this order of battle the brigades of infantry on both sides, which formed the strength of the two lines, and were in front, commenced the action with a cannonade and advanced against one another. The infantry of Doulut Rao, however, were old battalions, inured to war, whereas those of Holkur were comparatively raw soldiers. Futeh Singh Maneea had, for this reason, arranged with Juswunt Rao Holkur that, when the infantry lines approached near enough, he should open his artillery with grape, which would be distinguishable by the report and by the greater quantity of smoke, and the cavalry should take that time to make a charge in support of the brigades.

The Muharaj accordingly waited in expectation of this signal. After a short cannonade, however, with round shot, before the enemy were nearly within grape-range, the artillerymen of Juswunt Rao, in the alarm and confusion of action not measuring the distance properly, began with their grape too soon. The Holkur Sirdars,

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viz. Hurnath, Nujeeb Khan, Vajid Ulee Khan, Chimna Bhao, Bhowanee Sunkur Bukhshee and others, immediately they distinguished the grape-fire, came down from the left flank to charge the enemy; but the charge having been made too soon, from the fault of the gunners as stated, failed, and they did not reach the enemy's ranks. On the contrary the horsemen that so advanced were exposed to the grape of Sindheea's brigades to such a degree, and in such repeated discharges, as to threaten the loss of the day altogether. At this time too, the Mankurees (1) and other household troops of the Peshwa, came from behind Sindheea's brigades and charged the Holkur cavalry, obtaining much advantage over them. The confusion was like that of the day of Judgment: no one knew where he was, or what he was about. But the slaughter was great of Holkur's troops, and the flight had commenced: Many of the Ameer's men too, who had been formed in line with the Muharaj's, were drawn along with them, and began to seek safety in individual flight.

At this time, the Ameer who was posted in the rear with his own particular corps, and saw the unfavorable turn the battle was taking for the Muharaj, not allowing the confusion to affect his cool courage, descended from his elephant, and mounting on horseback, gave orders to open upon the advancing enemy some heavy guns, (eighteen-pounders,) which were posted before his elephant, with a flag upon them. Futeh Singh Maneea had brought these guns from the fort of Baramuttee, (1) and they carried a shot for two or three kos. The Ameer caused them to open with chain-shot on the enemy's horse, which were cutting up the Muharaj's discomfited troops,

(1) رسالہ سواران مانکري (2) باران متي

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and after several discharges, their advance was checked and they turned. Muharaj Holkur who had been distracted at the sight of the confusion and ill turn of the battle, took heart at this change, and the Ameer, with Jumsheed Khan and other tried soldiers, went to him and advised, that he, Juswunt Rao, should charge in person from the left, while the Ameer advanced in front.

The Muharaj accordingly collected the troops about him, and charged from the left the horse of the enemy, who had advanced against his cavalry, and in this he was joined by about five thousand of the men who had been worsted, but were rallied and recovered their order, and displayed great courage, mixing hotly in the combat of sword and spear with the enemy.

The Ameer meanwhile advancing straight in front, fell in with a swampy low piece of ground between him and the enemy, which effectually prevented his charge. The Ameer was exerting himself to get clear of this impediment, in order to reach the enemy, when before he was quit of it, their artillery opened upon him and his party, giving several successive discharges. The Ameer's horse was struck in the belly, the ear, and the neck, all at once, and fell with him. As he was not quite alone, he was helped from the ground and remounted immediately, but, owing to the delay occasioned by this misadventure, the opportunity for his charge was lost, and, when made, it was so in confusion, and without effect, and no one well knew what his neighbour was about.

Jumsheed Khan and some other tried soldiers were thus separated from the Ameer, and effected a junction with Juswunt Rao Holkur; when, not seeing the Ameer,

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they said, "Some heavy calamity must have fallen on the heads of the Ameer's (1) enemies, that he is not here." The Muharaj, however, answered, "We know not yet what is to become of any of ourselves, that we should be asking about others—we must not spare our persons, but using every exertion, must now earn a name that shall appear on the page of history." At these words the troopers with Juswunt Rao, who were in number about five thousand, were filled with new courage and made a fresh charge, and behaved heroically and nobly. The Muharaj himself joining in the battle, dealt about him like a mad lion with both sword and lance. In the twinkling of an eye a line (of infantry) (2) was broken and overpowered, and the division of the enemy's army opposed to the Muharaj, was put to flight. Juswunt Rao pursued for an arrow's flight, when two or three battalions of the enemy, posted near a wall with two guns, opened upon him, and the Muharaj, thinking that if he left them unbroken behind him, in order to pursue the flying troops, they might do infinite mischief to those who would be following in his steps—and, perhaps, turn the battle again, wheeled about to the attack of these battalions: and, although they behaved bravely, and opened upon his party with grape, and beat off his first attack, the second, made from the left flank, succeeded. The Muharaj was himself the first person who carried his horse up to the mouth of the guns. The artillery-men seeing his boldness, fled, but one of them was killed by the Muharaj's own hand with a lance: whereupon, a second, more

(1) This is a form of respectful expression in Hindoostan. Evils of any kind are said to fall on the enemies of the person addressed or spoken of when the person himself is meant.

(2) One of the Peshwa's battalions.

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active, made a rush at him with a sword, which he received on his hand, but the wound fortunately was not severe, and Mooneer Khan, (1) an Afghan, one of the Ameer's men, who had separated from his party in consequence of the misadventure above described, and had joined the Muharaj, drew his sword, and riding at the artillery-man, cut off his head at a stroke. The Muharaj was much pleased at this act of timely heroism, and continuing his exertions, like a lion in his rage, spread slaughter, sword in hand, amongst the broken ranks of the enemy.

The Ameer, meanwhile, being remounted, and having rallied the troops in his company, extricated himself by great exertions, and after much exposure, from the swamp. On the edge of it were about five hundred of Bajee Rao Peshwa's Mankuree horse, who had been posted in support of the brigades of Dawes and Shekh Kulub Ulee, and had joined in the successful charge above described. As the Ameer approached them, two Suwars of distinguished bravery, skilled in the use of their weapons, and covered with plate armour and with steel helmets, advanced from the ranks of the enemy to attack him. A singular combat now commenced. The Suwars at one time retiring within their own body, and at another coming out to the attack, and although the Ameer made a hundred lunges at them with his spear and struck home, yet he could not penetrate through their armour. At last, the Ameer called out to Azim Khan Bukhshee, (2) who enjoyed an income of a lakh of rupees per mensem, —"Here am I showing off before you like a mounted fugleman, and you quietly looking on. Dont you know

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(1) منیرخان (2) اعظم خان بخشي

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that the pay you receive is for such occasions as this?" At this taunt the Bukhshee, who was a man of courage, took fire, and charging like a mad lion, cut off the head of one of the Suwars the first brush, but the other continued skirmishing notwithstanding the death of his companion, and wounded Hoormut Khan, (1) an Afghan, one of nine men, who were all that stood by the Ameer at this time. The Suwar then turned on the Ameer, who observed, that as he wheeled his horse, a space of two or three fingers breadth, was exposed under his armour at the waist. He accordingly determined to contrive some how to strike him there with his spear, for the battle seemed to him to turn on the success or fall of this Suwar. The Ameer accordingly called out to the Bukhshee to make a feint to draw him round, so that his back should be exposed to himself. The Bukhshee did accordingly, and began skirmishing and careering towards the Suwar, who no sooner put his horse about, and lent his body over to the motion, than the Ameer drove his spear at the exposed part, and it pierced his liver and killed him on the spot: whereupon the rest of the enemy's horse took flight, and the Ameer, with his party, reduced now to eight troopers, followed in pursuit, and with sword and spear, urged their flight.

VERSES.

The Ameer of the age has rode into the field
Like a lion or elephant untaught to yield;
In one hand a dagger of temper well steeled,
In the other a lance like a huge club to wield—
Bravely he charges to left and to right,
The ranks of the enemy turning to flight,

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(1) حرمت خان

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Home charging, no child's play, with rein well in hand,
He has broken the line of the foe's trusty band;
And urges them fiercely with unsparing blade,
No lion in sheep-fold such havoc e'er made.
His sword when it lights on the head of the foe,
Cleaves clean to the waist, at one terrible blow;
When his spear at the back of a foeman is driven
Thro' and through by the breast, the souls outlet is riven;
The lance never misses in his skilful hand,
Though it come from far (1) Egypt misnamed Misserland.
Here too fought the Holkur, whose blows fell like hail,
He flew like a falcon at quarries of quail,
And so strewed the ranks of the foe's best brigade,
That their bodies in heaps were like hillocks outlaid,
Panic went on before him, wherever he fell,
One trod on another—all hurried pell-mell;
And the dust that was raised by the runaway crew,
Helped to darken their fate, and to blind their eyes, too,
They fled, none knew whither, as chance led the way—
Sense, coolness, discretion, were all thrown away.
Thus defeat fell on Bajee Rao Peshwa's huge host,
Great the joy of the Victors, and greater their boast,
Give glory to Holkur, on Meer Khan be praise—
But haste! stay the pillage! see Poona in blaze!

To return—the boldness of the Peshwa's Mankuree (2) horse gave way before the Ameer, and they were put to a shameful flight. Whereupon the brigades of Capt. Dawes and Shekh Kulub Ulee, belonging to Doulut Rao, who had all this while been engaged with artillery and musquetry against the Holkur brigades, both suffering and

(1) In the original "Tartary," which is written like the word for a miss or error. خطا The conceit is bad enough in the original, and certainly gains nothing by translation.

(2) سوارا ن مانکڑي

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inflicting nearly equal loss, also broke and fled; and the brave and bold men of the Muharaj's and Ameer's troops, who, after the unfavorable commencement of the action had crept into corners out of danger's way, waiting the course affairs might take, came forth and attacked Dawes, who was slain, and his head cut off, and the standard of victory being displayed, all hurried towards Poona. The Ameer having succeeded at length in his part of the field, made his way to where Muharaj Holkur was standing, near the spot where he had overthrown the battalions of the Peshwa. Great were the congratulations interchanged. In consequence of his wound, Juswunt Rao dismounting from his horse ascended an elephant. Bajee Rao was at this time at a place of Hindoo worship, at the foot of a hill, called Parbutee, (1) with about twenty-five thousand horse. The Muharaj seeing him, said to the Ameer, "God forbid that the Peshwa should with those fresh troops fall on our straggling parties, who are all running to the pillage of Poona. Our victory will, in that case, be turned into a defeat. Better bring up and open on this body the artillery of the brigades." The Ameer approved of this idea, and getting up some guns for the purpose from the brigades, sent a few shot amongst this body. God being with his cause, the Peshwa, without renewing the battle, retreated and descended into the Konkan, by a ghaut, about five coss on the further side of Poona, and there encamped. The Muharaj looked upon this as an interference of Providence in his favor, and made an entry, in triumph, along with the Ameer, into Poona, where both exerted themselves to stop the pillage. Already several houses had

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(1) پاربتي

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been broken into, but further mischief was prevented, and guards were posted in every street for protection of the inhabitants. On the same day also, for the battle having commenced in the morning, lasted three or four hours only, Muharaj Holkur having learned that the Peshwa Bajee Rao was but five kos off, sent Pundits three or four several times to make atonement and bring him back to Poona. Through these agents, the Muharaj begged permission to wait upon His Highness, and tendered his duty and obedience.

Bajee Rao was deaf to all his entreaties, for the word treachery was on the page of his dealings with the Holkur family, (1) and his eye fell upon it, and he feared to trust himself in the power of Juswunt Rao. He wrote, however, to the Ameer, that if he would give his word and be his security against evil, he would, on the faith of such a pledge from a stranger in the land and a brave man, return to Poona. The Ameer after reading the letter took it to Juswunt Rao. He found him applying cautery to the wound in his hand, and sitting down by him, he read out the letter. The Muharaj thinking this a great point, ordered the Ameer to offer his pledge freely in reply, saying—"By God's will, if we bring the Peshwa into our power, Bundelkhund, with its revenue of a crore of rupees, shall be assigned as a separate territory for you." The Ameer said—"If through my mediation the Peshwa is brought back to Poona, I should wish still to share your fortunes, (2) and

(1) Alluding to Bajee Rao's having been privy to the attack on Mulhar Rao's camp when that young Chief was slain, but more pointedly to the public execution of Etajee or Eethul Rao, Juswunt Rao's full brother, who was fastened to the foot of an elephant, and trodden to pieces.—*Vide page* 90.

(2) The Ameer's meaning in this was, that he hoped nothing would be done to interrupt the existing friendship.

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to remain your companion in arms." Juswunt Rao said upon this, "Stratagem and treachery are necessary for the attainment of power." The Ameer liked not these words. He accordingly wrote on the back of Bajee Rao's letter as a reply to it—"In a matter of private quarrel of this kind, it is not fitting for people like myself, not on a par with the principals, to interfere." This reply he sent to Bajee Rao, who, thereupon, determined to break up from his camp, and retire to the fort of Marh (1) in the Konkan, near the sea shore, preparatory to which, he discharged all his troops, except nine thousand Mankuree horse and eighteen thousand foot, armed with Dukhunee matchlocks. With this reduced force he proceeded to Marh, which is on a hill near the sea, very steep and strong. Four thousand of the foot were detached to guard the passes through the hills between it and Poona, which are very difficult, the roads being extremely steep and rugged; the remainder formed the garrison for the defence of the fortress.

Muharaj Holkur satisfied with the issue to which matters had thus come, sent the Ameer to invite to Poona Umrit Rao, (2) the eldest son (but by adoption,) of Bajee Rao's father, Rughoonath Rao, who was then at the fort of Jooneer, (3) about four stages distant. It had before been agreed between him and the Muharaj, that on the condition of his obtaining the Poona-Gudee, country yielding a revenue of a crore of rupees, with two crores in money, should be assigned to Juswunt Rao. The Ameer undertook this service partly out of regard for Juswunt Rao, and partly because he knew that unless he

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(1) ماڈہ (2) امرت راو (3) جونیر

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went to Jooneer and gave secure pledges for safety, Umrit Rao would never come to Poona. He accordingly went to Jooneer, and having satisfied the mind of this Prince, brought him to Poona, where he was seated on the Peshwa's Musnud.

Colonel Close, Furingee, who was the British Resident at Poona with Bajee Rao, being much displeased at the placing of Umrit Rao on the Musnud, which was sorely against the views and wishes of the English, asked now for leave to retire. Juswunt Rao, at the suggestion of Umrit Rao, was for allowing Close to depart, but solicited the Ameer's advice. The Ameer said, "If Close leaves this, being an old friend of Bajee Rao, and having influence over him, depend upon it the British armies will take up his cause and march hither to his aid, when you will have a difficult game to play." Umrit Rao, however, overruled this, and Close was promised leave to retire. Umrit Rao having prepared his Khilat of leave, was about to send it, when the Ameer hearing of it, went to him, and said—"If my advice be not taken, I cannot help it; but assuredly I will not allow Close to move after the leave shall be given." Umrit Rao was convinced by this firmness, and delayed the leave for a time.

Umrit Rao was now called upon to pay the two crores in cash as had been agreed upon. One crore was to be raised at Poona, the remainder he promised on Bajee Rao's being driven out of Marh, or brought to submit in person, on the plea that his own authority was not completely established, while Bajee Rao was in power and making head against him. The Muharaj being in

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some perplexity at this, said to the Ameer—"If you will remain here, I will go after Bajee Rao." His object in this was to lead the Ameer to propose to undertake the attack of Bajee Rao. The Ameer seeing what was meant, said at once, he had no objection to take the management of that affair; but as the army was then in mutiny, the troops would not proceed on the service without some preliminary adjustment of the arrears of their pay. "Then," said the Muharaj—"I must go myself." The Ameer now reflected, that if he did not undertake the service, the Muharaj would think ill of him, and conclude that he refused, because unable to manage an affair of the kind. Accordingly, he collected the people of his separate army, and took formal leave of the Muharaj; but his men began to suspect, that he had secretly obtained large sums of money from Holkur, which he withheld from them. A great tumult arose in consequence, and the troops mutinied and refused to march. At last, the Ameer prevailed on one thousand horse and four hundred infantry, and marched with these five kos from Poona, to the place at the foot of the ghat, where Bajee Rao had encamped the first night after his defeat. Next day, he again marched by a rugged pathway, and the imagination of man cannot conceive the difficulties he had to encounter from the thick tangled bushes, and from the narrow broken defiles, and bad footing. Thus travelling, the Ameer came suddenly under a hill fort, held by a garrison of Bajee Rao's, which commanded the road. He accordingly sent people to look out for another route. They brought him an old man, who at first denied all knowledge of any other road. The Ameer said, "You old fool, how little you know the purpose of my coming. I am seeking Bajee Rao to join him, and to carry him back to Poona. If you will

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shew me a good road, I will give you one hundred rupees." The old man partly from the love of lucre, and partly from the desire of seeing Bajee Rao restored, agreed at last, and told the Ameer, that near the hill where he was, at about two miles distance, there was a path that could be ascended for about a mile, when it became so steep as to require the assistance of hands and feet, and climbing by the branches of trees; but if the Ameer would dismount and ascend on foot the surrounding hills by that path, he might by an exertion of courage and activity, obtain the object of his wishes. The Ameer relying on the aid of the same Providence which had heretofore befriended him, dismounted four hundred matchlock men, and sent them by the pathway indicated, urging them to ascend boldly, but cautiously, and to conceal themselves till the morning, when he agreed that the party remaining with him should advance and fire, and he ordered that those who ascended should divide themselves into four parties, and, putting two charges into each matchlock, should fire separately in platoons from some distance from one another, so as to distract the garrison, and lead them to imagine that they were surrounded by a large force. The scheme, when explained, met with general assent and approbation, and forthwith, it being then about four o'clock in the afternoon, the party clambered to the tops of the surrounding hills, and passed the night there, as they could, in ambuscade. When the morning dawned, the Ameer struck his kettle-drums and advanced against the fort, firing as for attack, whereupon the parties from the hills above and around opened likewise on the sentinels and garrison, who, expecting nothing of the kind, were panick-stricken and took to flight. The Ameer was elate with this success, and so got out of the horrible defile and encamped on open ground. Next day

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he advanced, and the Peshwa, taking alarm at what had happened, left the fort of Marh with a select body, and went to Serung-droog, (1) which is on an island in the Ocean, very strongly fortified. About eighteen thousand infantry receiving their discharge, dispersed by different mountain roads; but the horse, who could not so escape, remained in Marh. When the Ameer, continuing his advance, passed the defiles surrounding it, and approached Marh, Shumsheer Buhadur, (2) son of Ulee Buhadur, who was with these horse, wrote to him to say, that, as the Ameer was acquainted with his father, he hoped he would allow to himself and the rest a free passage. The Ameer, who had but very few troops with him, was well pleased with this overture, and wrote in reply, that out of regard to his father, Ulee Buhadur, he should be happy to grant this favor, and Shumsheer Buhadur might take all his friends with him. Shumsheer being thus assured, came out of the fort with the rest of the horse shut up there, and this strong place was thus surrendered to the Ameer without a shot being fired. The result was, that, after spending near fifteen days in triumph and rejoicings, he wrote to Bajee Rao Peshwa to say, that if it was his pleasure, he (the Ameer) was then prepared to mediate a reconciliation with Muharaj Holkur, and to attend His Highness back to Poona for the purpose. The Peshwa tore the letter and sent back a verbal answer, that he was himself about to quit the field: but his country, if no longer to be his own, should not be governed by any other Mahratta. Dismissing his attendants, he imme-

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(1) سرنگ درگ

(1) Called by Europeans Sevan-Droog. The real Sanscrit name is Sree Ravana-Droog.

(2) شمشیر بہادر

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diately took boat and went by sea, to Busye(1) (Bassein,) near Bombay, where was General Wellesley, the Furingee, and also Close, the Furingee, who had been dismissed from Poona, and had come to Busye, after the departure of the Ameer. Bajee Rao came at once to an understanding with Close, in consequence of the terms on which they had before lived, and a negociation was entered upon, which ended in a treaty, by which the Peshwa renewed his father Rugonath Rao's engagement to make over six anas of his entire dominions to the English, on the condition of their assisting to replace him on the Musnud. The Ameer hearing of this treaty, wrote to the dependants and Sirdars of the Peshwa, who were in garrison at Serung-droog, which was an island in the Ocean, that Bajee Rao had lost his senses, and no longer knew his interests, or those of the Poona State; that they had better, therefore, return with him (the Ameer,) to Poona, and resume their places in the Durbar there, which no one would prevent. As they were all in alarm, they derived confidence from this assurance, and returned with the Ameer to Poona. The Ameer staid about a month in Poona, where Mohummud Shah Khan, who commanded a battalion, and had done good service along with him on this, as on former occasions, was rewarded with an elephant, a palkee, and the title of Colonel; also, with one lakh of rupees for expences. He was promoted, moreover, to the command of a brigade, which he was ordered to form, and the captured guns were placed at his disposal. As Muharaj Holkur had to receive two crores of rupees from Umrit Rao, according to agreement, and wished to have the

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(1) بسئی

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dealing with him to himself, he sent off the Ameer on the pretence of the affair of Merich (1) requiring his presence, and staid himself some time longer at Poona to extort the stipulated sum from Umrit Rao Peshwa. In this interval, Bajee Rao Peshwa having brought General Wellesley, with twenty-two battalions, (2) to his aid, came back from Busye towards Poona. Muharaj Doulut Rao Sindheea and Rughoojee Ghoosla were also hastening down with large armies from Malwa to the same place. Muharaj Holkur thus seeing his enemies in strength on all sides, thought it no longer advisable for him to wait at Poona, so, taking all he could get from Umrit Rao, he went towards Aurungabad.

The events stated above, happened in the year of the Hejira 1218. (3)

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(1) مرہٹہ

(2) This is an extraordinary exaggeration, for the force of Colonel Wellesley consisted only of six or seven battalions. The Author must include all the Madras and Bombay troops brought into the field, during the war, to make up this number. Colonel Wellesley, moreover, was not at Bassein, but was on the Southern Mahrattah Frontier, in command of a force collected there to support the negociation.

(3) A. D. 1802-3.—23d April to 11th April 1803.

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BOOK THE FOURTH.

CHAPTER V.

A. D. 1803, March—April.

The Ameer proceeds against Merich, while the Muharaj marches to Aurungabad and levies contributions— The Ameer summoned thither proceeds to Aurungabad — The Muharaj marches to Chandôre — The Ameer's negociations with Moosheer-ool-Moolk—Joins the Muharaj at Chandôre.

THE Ameer broke ground from Poona and took the road to Merich and Mungulheera. (1) He had with him Nuwab Shuhamut Khan, Nagoojee Punth, (2) Futeh Singh Mania, with his brigade, Imaum Bukhsh and Kadir Bukhsh, Pindaras, Ghorpura Mankuree, (3) a Rusaladar of four thousand horse, Futeh Khan Nisaree, (4) Ahmed Khan, of Kripa Kanor, (5) and, lastly, Colonel Mohummud Shah Khan's new brigade, making altogether a force of eighty thousand horse and foot. This army

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(1) مرچ—منکل هیرہ (2) ناگوجي پنتهه (3) گهورپرا مانکري
(4) فتح خان نغاري (5) احمد خان کرپا کا نوروا له

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marched by Jhoorjhooree to Bara-Mutee, (1) which was plundered and afforded a rich booty: thence it moved to Singhola, (2) the attempt to escalade which, produced a smart affair that lasted for six hours. The ladders then breaking, further operations were deferred till next day, when the place was carried. The Ameer thus came before Mungulheera, which being well fortified, resisted his attack for a whole day, but the Kiladar was brought at last to yield, and paid a composition. The commandant of Merich being also alarmed, sent over thither to make terms for himself, and two detachments which had been sent under Muhub-oollah Khan (3) and Ruheem Beg (4) to collect tribute from Akil-kot, (5) returned also successful to Mungulheera.

While the Ameer was pursuing this career of conquest (6) to the south, Wellesley, (7) the Furingee, (Brigadier General Sir A. Wellesley, now Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington,) advanced from Bassein with a force of twenty-two battalions in aid of the cause of Bajee Rao Peshwa; and the Ameer learned that he had approached to within a short distance of the camp. He was further informed, that the armies of Hydurabad were

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(1) باران متي (2) سنگهوله (3) محب الله خان لنگ

(4) رحيم بيگ (5) عاقل كوٹ

(6) A. D. 1803—March.

(7) General Sir A. Wellesley had never more than eight thousand Infantry and seventeen hundred Cavalry under his personal command. Colonel Stevenson, however, who brought up the Hyderabad Subsidiary force, and acted under him, had about the same number of British troops, and an army of fifteen thousand of the Nizam's troops accompanied his division. The Ameer is further in error in stating, that General Wellesley advanced from Bassein, which is in the Konkan, not far from Bombay. He came from the south, his army having been assembled for the purpose, at a position on the northern frontier of the Mysore territory, as stated in a previous note.—Vide page 181.

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on the frontier of the possessions of that State, the hostile forces, indeed, were so near, that frequent skirmishings and affairs of out-posts occurred.

Intelligence was brought about the same time, that Doulut Rao Sindheea, with his brigades and eighty thousand horse—and, likewise, Rughoojee Ghoosla, with one brigade and a large body of horse, were on their way from Malwa and Nagpoor to Boorhanpoor. Muharaj Holkur seeing that enemies were thus gathering upon him on all sides, began to feel much anxiety about his future plans, and wrote to the Ameer to rejoin him forthwith. His letters were urgent, and several times repeated, but the Ameer seeing the position of the English and Hydurabad armies, reflected, that if he retired, they would advance and must recover Poona for Bajee Rao; and after he was securely reseated on that Musnud, that there would be little chance for them, even in Hindoostan. He accordingly wrote to the Muharaj, to advise that he should be left to make head against these two armies, that is the British and the Nizam's, while Juswunt Rao should himself prepare to oppose Doulut Rao Sindheea and the Ghoosla. The Muharaj did not approve of this suggestion, but sent Tanteea Aleekur, (1) to urge the Ameer's rejoining without delay. It was his particular injunction, that the Ameer should avoid an action, for he wrote, that it was essential their entire forces should be collected to act according to occasion. Many adjurations were added to strengthen the requisition on the Ameer to use dispatch in rejoining. The Ameer, on receipt of these letters, and further, on learning the Muharaj's views and wishes from Tanteea Aleckur, felt the necessity of yielding,

(1) تانتيا اليكر

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and began his march towards Aurungabad. It happened that Futeh Singh Maneea, who was in command of the brigade formerly Hujur Beg's (Chevalier Dudrenec's,) had been tampering with Bajee Rao, and when the word was given to march, he staid behind on pretence of his troops first taking their meal, but with the evident intention to go over along with his adherents to the camp of Bajee Rao, which was with that of the English army, then only five kos off. The Ameer fortunately heard of this intended treachery, and wrote to the officers of the brigade to sieze their Commandant, and as they were for the most part men of Hindoostan of high principle and good family, they immediately did so, and brought the brigade safe to the Ameer's camp. He then continued his march without interruption towards Aurungabad. When he had reached to within a few marches of the city, he started with a body of horse, lightly equipped, in advance of the rest of the army, and so reached the place, and had an audience immediately of Muharaj Holkur. The Muharaj had negociated for a contribution of ten lakhs of rupees from the city, and had recently realized the full sum, but had no intention of allowing the Ameer or his army any participation in this receipt. On the Ameer's sudden arrival, however, and after listening to his representation of the distress of the troops for want of money, he was brought to consent to give up four lakhs, and one lakh was paid down. For the remaining three, the Muharaj assigned over a brother of the Soorat Nuwab, and one Moosafur Shah, (1) the Superintendent of a Moosulman shrine, as hostages, and then marched off himself towards Chandor. The Ameer halted some days,

(1) مسافر شاہ تکیہ دار

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in order to get the money from these hostages. The Shah was a man of wealth, and money might easily have been extracted from him by the usual severities; but the Ameer scrupled to employ such means against a man of sanctity, and released him with gifts, instead of defiling himself with the sin of extortion to procure his money.

While this was occurring at Aurungabad, Colonel Wellesley (1) and the Nuwab Nizam Ulee Khan, of Hydurabad, advanced with their respective armies to Poona, and there re-seated Bajee Rao on the Peshwa's Musnud, after which they marched north-eastward to within one stage of Aurungabad. Here Moosheer-ool-Moolk, Nizam Ulee's Minister, wrote to Colonel Wellesley, that for the main body of Holkur's army they were an undisciplined rabble, and he need not trouble himself about them, but the Afghans were very superior soldiers, unused to yield, and unequalled in battle: he recommended, therefore, that an attempt should be made to gain over the Ameer, who was known to have the command of all the troops of this nation: that, if he could be bought by money or territory, all other objects would easily be accomplished, and that the arrangement would be highly acceptable to the Nuwab Nizam Ulee Khan, for he contemplated an alliance with the Puthan Chief, by giving him one of his own daughters

(1) General Wellesley made a march of sixty miles in thirty-two hours, and reached Poona on the 20th April, 1803. The object of this rapid movement was to prevent any vindictive sack or conflagration of the city by the retiring party. Bajee Rao remained in the Concan, (Kokun) until his capital was occupied by British troops, he then came up the ghats, escorted by a brigade of the Bombay army, and resumed his seat on the Musnud of Poona on the 13th May, 1803. Umrit Rao accepted a stipend for the life of himself, and his son, Bunaeek Rao, of eight lakhs of rupees, and retired to live upon it at Benares. He subsequently (that is, in 1816–17,) procured a few villages in Bundelkhund as a Jagheer, for his personal residence, and built himself a handsome palace at Tiroha, one of them, where his son now resides. He died at Benares on the 31st August, 1824.

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in marriage, (1) in testimony of the high opinion he had of his courage and military talents. Colonel Wellesley yielded to this advice, and agreed to give a crore of rupees in cash, and country yielding a crore per annum, in order to win over the Ameer. Nuwab Moosheer-ool-Moolk was accordingly empowered to open a negociation on this footing. In furtherance of the scheme, the Nuwab first determined to sound the Ameer, and endeavoured to ascertain his views through Gholamee Khan, who was his fellow-countryman, and before known to him. The Ameer thus got wind of what was proposed. It was convenient to him in many respects not to hurry his march from Aurungabad, more especially as the money had not been extracted from the Soorat Nuwab, left in his hands by Muharaj Holkur, as stated above. On the other hand, his instructions forbad his bringing on a general action, so that negociation seemed the only resource open to him for gaining time to effect his purpose. Accordingly, he pretended to give ear to the proposal of Moosheer-ool-Moolk, and formed a wolf's friendship, the better to deceive him. Meerza Ruheem Beg, another countryman of the Hydurabad Minister, was dispatched to negociate on the Ameer's part, and to propose, that neither army should move further in advance, on the ground that if the hostile forces approached nearer a general action would be inevitable. The Meerza was instructed to declare his readiness to discuss all matters at issue, if this preliminary were agreed to—whereas, if not assented to, it would be evident that the Minister was not serious in his overtures.

(1) The reader will not need to be told, that this story of the offers made to Ameer Khan at this period, is pure romance and gasconade.

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Having dispatched his agent to conduct this negociation, the Ameer determined to lose no time in demanding the money required from the Soorat Nuwab, he was accordingly threatened, until his mother came down with some gold mohurs and jewels, worth something less than one and a half lakhs of rupees. This sum she sent to the Ameer with a promise to find the remainder in a few days, and she begged, as she was a Syudanee, (descendant of the Prophet) that the Ameer would have some compassion upon herself and her son in their distress. The Ameer, with characteristic generosity, sent back the jewels immediately, and taking up the gold mohurs, carried them and the Nuwab also, to the Syudanee's house, where, being admitted, he made many compliments to the Nuwab's mother, and in the end, told her, if she could pay the remainder of the demand so much the better, for he needed it, but if it distressed her, he relinquished it, and made her a present of the balance. The Ameer's companions remonstrated against this liberality, saying, they knew the man to be wealthy and well able to pay, and that he ought, therefore, to be carried with the army till all was realized. The Ameer, however, pursued his course without attending to such suggestions, and released the Soorat Nuwab's brother without further demand.

In the mean time, the Ameer's agent, Ruheem Beg, had reached the camp of the Nizam's army, and excited in Moosheer-ool-Moolk strong hopes of effecting his purpose of winning over the Ameer. The Minister accordingly sent a confidential person, along with a Kranee, (writer,) on the part of Colonel Wellesley, and through them offered Hoondees for sixty lakhs of rupees, and a present Jaeedad of eighteen lakhs within the Nizam's own territory, besides the promised crore of revenue hereafter.

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The Ameer took the Hoondees from the Vakeels, and cunningly replied, that it was unbecoming of him to settle a matter of this kind in secrecy, unknown to Muharaj Holkur, with whom he was engaged, but, God willing, the matter should immediately be made known to him; indeed, he would himself proceed to wait on the Muharaj, in order to explain it properly, when he doubted not he should be able to settle every thing to satisfaction. The Vakeels being taken aback by this declaration, said, "Truly, what you determine, must be right." The Ameer then adding flattering words of all kinds, and sparing no effort to please them, began his march and went to Phoolthumba, (1) where leaving his army, he continued his journey, lightly equipped, to Chandor, and there told the Muharaj of all that had passed between himself and Moosheer-ool-Moolk. The Muharaj said, "These offers of the enemy are lies that have no sequel: they do but show you the garden, that your mouth may water for the fruit." The Ameer then drew the Hoondees from his pocket, and showed them to the Muharaj, saying, "Here at least are some tokens of their being in earnest." The Muharaj, on seeing the Hoondees, was astonished and hung down his head, and began scratching the ground with his nails. The Ameer observing the impression made on the Muharaj by this proof of his fidelity, added, "You may rest satisfied, although the sovereignty of the whole world were offered to me, as the condition of my separating from the cause to which I am pledged, still would I spurn the offer;" and thereupon he tore the Hoondees before the Muharaj's face, and so established unbounded confidence in his fidelity, in the mind of Juswunt Rao Holkur.

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(1) پھول تنبھا

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BOOK THE FIFTH.

WAR OF THE MAHRATTAS WITH THE ENGLISH—FIRST PART.

CHAPTER I.

A. D. 1803—April to December.

Peace between Doulut Rao Sindheea and Muharaj Holkur, with mutual engagements and pledges—The Muharaj and the Ameer proceed to Muheshur—Their stay there—Sindheea and the Ghoosla march to the Dukhun—Their battles with the English at Phoolhurree and Chouka—The defeat of both, and their separate treaties with the English.

WHEN Doulut Rao Sindheea and Rughoojee Ghoosla had arrived with large armies at Boorhanpoor, (1) and were informed of Bajee Rao Peshwa's having come to terms with the English, they began to think ill of the aspect of the things, and sent a Pundit in their confidence, to Muharaj Holkur, to ask his advice. This agent was

(1) برهانپور

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the bearer of a message, that as Bajee Rao had now called in the English, and brought their army into the field, and Hindoostan could no longer be deemed the safe possession of their nation, all private quarrels should be buried in oblivion, and every true Mahratta, uniting in heart and hand, and in word and deed, ought to endeavour to drive the English out of the country; that they, who were the Chiefs of the nation, should agree, therefore, mutually, to assist one another at present, and to settle their private disputes and animosities as might be agreed upon afterwards.

Muharaj Holkur consulted the Ameer in this exigency, saying, that it appeared to him, as his enemies were at the time too strong for him, his best policy was to come to terms with the two Mahratta Chiefs. The Ameer said, although there was no reason to doubt, that both Sindheea and the Ghoosla were then desirous of an amicable adjustment, still, as the enmity with them was of old standing, the Muharaj should be on his guard against stratagem and treachery on their part, for under the guise of friendship they might be seeking an opportunity to wreak their vengeance. The Ameer accordingly advised, that four things should be asked of them. First—The release of Khundee Rao Holkur, (1) who, with his mother, was a prisoner in Aseergurh. (2) Second—That all territory belonging to the Holkur family, that had been seized by them respectively, should be restored, and their thanas and garrisons be withdrawn—Juswunt Rao similarly withdrawing his thanas from places he had seized from them. Third—That as General Wellesley was

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(1) كهندي راوهولكر (2) اسيرگڈه

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advancing from the south, while General Lake was with an army collected at Kanhpoor, (1) (Cawnpoor,) they two (that is, Sindheea and the Ghoosla,) should choose on which side they would fight the battle, leaving the other field entirely to him, (Juswunt Rao) under a mutual agreement to assist one another, if necessary. Fourth—That all property taken when Juswunt Rao was seized and thrown into confinement at Nagpoor, should be restored.

Muharaj Holkur approved this advice, and proposed stipulations to the effect of the above four articles to Doulut Rao Sindheea and Rughoojee Bhoosla, sending Khundee Rao Mana, (2) a man of wisdom and discretion, to negociate the terms. The Ghoosla Raja and Sindheea consulted on the subject, and agreed to the conditions, and at once released Khundee Rao Holkur from Aseergurh, with his mother, and sent them to Juswunt Rao; making a promise also to restore the property plundered at Nagpoor, they sent orders immediately to withdraw their thanas from the Holkur territory and possessions in Malwa and Kandes. On the remaining point, their resolution was to take on themselves the war of the Dukhun, but not to give up that towards Hindoostan, which quarter was equally threatened.

When these terms were satisfactorily adjusted, an engagement was concluded on the basis proposed, and Muharaj Holkur, with the Ameer, marching by the ghats into Kandes, and through that country, by Maleegaon (3) and Sindwah, (4) reached Muheshur, where their progress was delayed some time by the rainy season.(5)

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(1) كانهه پور (2) كهندي راو مانا (3) مالي گانون (4) سندهوه

(5) 1803—July—August.

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Doulut Rao Sindheea and Rughoojee Ghoosla, marching with their armies by Toodur and Nuseerabad, (1) and the Ajuntah Ghat, (2) came to Phool-muree Chouka. (3) At that time there were collected two brigades complete, one Perron's own, the first, and the other Michael's, (4) also four battalions of the Begum Sumroo, with the heavy artillery and train, and Sindheea's household and special troops, making in all no less than one hundred and fifty thousand men, horse and foot, of Sindheea's only. There were, moreover, present, one complete brigade, with artillery, and forty or fifty thousand horse of the Ghoosla's. Sindheea divided this army, and selecting about eighty thousand of the best horse from both forces, sent them in advance, under Suda Sheeo Rao, towards the Dukhun, to a distance of about ten or twelve kos, the rest of the troops, with the brigades, he kept about him, and remaining stationary for a few days, sent to Muharaj Holkur, who, with the Ameer, was at Muheshur, for further aid.

General Wellesley, who was near Aurungabad at about twenty-five kos distance, hearing of this division of Sindheea's army, divided his own force likewise, and detaching twelve select battalions under General Dutpeen, (5) (Colonel Stevenson) with Bajee Rao Peshwa's troops, against the advanced division of Sindheea's army, he

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(1) تودر نصیرآباد (2) گھاٹھہ اجنٹھہ (3) پھولمری چوکا

(4) The Officer here referred to was Colonel Michael Filoze, father of John Baptiste Filoze, now commanding a brigade in Sindheea's service. Colonel Polhman, a German, commanded Perron's first brigade, which was the other body of infantry referred to. The battalions of Begum Sumroo were under the command of Mons. Saleure, a Swiss gentleman.

(5) جرنیل ڈ تپین

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marched in person with ten battalions and a Regiment of Dragoons, and with the Nizam's troops in his company, by a route of which no one had any knowledge, and came by surprise upon the joint forces under the personal command of Sindheea and the Ghoosla. The bullocks of Sindheea's artillery were away grazing, and the men quite unprepared, when he made his appearance at about nine or ten o'clock in the day, and attacked their line. (1). Sindheea, however, turned out his brigades and artillery, and formed line as well as he could, and the action commenced with a cannonade: but Doulut Rao being but a young soldier, and the officers of his brigades being in their hearts well affected to the English, and somewhat slack, consequently, in their service of the guns, and anxious rather for defeat than victory, the enemy prevailed, and the army of Sindheea was put to route.

Doulut Rao, in the impetuosity and pride of youth, headed a charge of horse himself, and attacked a division of the enemy, through which he cut his way, and, again turning, came back through their ranks to his own army:

(1) This battle was fought on the 23d September, 1803, and by Europeans is called the battle of Assye. General Wellesley had arranged a combined movement with Colonel Stevenson, by which the enemy was to be reached by both divisions on the morning of the 24th. On coming to his ground, however, on the 23d, the General ascertained that the Mahratta army was close by, and with a promptitude that gave promise of future glory, he determined on attacking it immediately with his own division only.—Sindheea's was never a stationary camp, as stated by the Ameer, but his previous movements were without plan, and showed little capacity for military command. In the action he behaved bravely, and DeBoigne's brigades and the artillery fought with great desperation. There was no slackness on their part, as insinuated in the text. The loss to the Victors of nearly one-third their number in killed and wounded, and all from the effect of the enemy's powerful artillery, is a sufficient proof of the obstinacy of the contest. There were ten officers killed and six wounded in H. M. 74th Regiment only—altogether there were twenty-two officers killed and thirty wounded.

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but in this charge(1) many of his own troops were left in the ranks of the English, and many took to flight, and there was an immense slaughter on both sides.

Rughoojee Ghoosla, who from the post he occupied, remained with his special troops, looking on, and gave no assistance to the charge of Doulut Rao, retired, immediately he saw that it had failed of success, to the fort of Gawilgurh, (2) in Soobah Berar, which belonged to him. The real cause of this inaction was never thoroughly ascertained. The general impression was, that, either Rughoojee was at the time in understanding with the Furingees, or that his heart failed him, and his head wanted the brain of true courage. But, be this as it may, when the English brought up their artillery, and opened a fire upon the troops of Doulut Rao, he too, feeling it to be useless to offer longer resistance, retired to Thalner(3) in Kandes, and all his train, artillery, (4) and his brigades, with their camp, fell into the power of the English.

The officer commanding for the Begum Sumroo, however, brought off her four battalions, formed into squares with part of Sindheea's artillery, and got safely to Boorhanpoor. Muharaj Holkur had detached the Ameer with a select body of troops to join Sindheea, in compliance with his request for a reinforcement upon the approach of the English army, but the Ameer had gone only

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(1) Jadhoo Rao Bhaskur, a principal minister of Sindheea's, was killed in this charge.

(2) گاول گڈھ (3) تھالنیر

(4) Ninety-eight guns were captured at Assye.

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the first march, when intelligence of the defeat reached him, and he returned to Holkur. General Wellesley, after this victory, again dividing his army into two divisions, pursued both Sindheea and the Ghoosla. Rughoojee now, repenting the course he had taken, wrote to Sindheea that they had eaten the fruit of their jealousy and want of agreement in the late action; with expressions of contrition for the past, he both promised and recommended a better union and concert for the future: Sindheea upon this left Thalner and went to Gawilgurh, where the Ghoosla was. The English army, however, were again upon them, and dragging their guns by ropes through the passes, attacked the army of Rughoojee. Since in this world, the retribution of all bad deeds is certain, Sindheea in retaliation for the desertion he had experienced from Rughoojee in the former battle, withdrew in the very heat of this second action, (1) and retired to Boorhanpoor.

The brigades of the Ghoosla were, in consequence, completely and shamefully defeated,—Benee Singh, (2) and other principal leaders being slain. Rughoojee fled to Nagpoor, leaving all his guns in General Wellesley's hands. The General laying immediate seige to Gawilgurh, (3) carried the place in three hours, and so obtain-

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(1) The battle of Argam is here referred to, the brunt of which was certainly borne by the troops of the Bhoosla or Ghoosla, under Vinkajee Munya Bapoo. They were attacked in their camp at Argam, not very far from Gawilgurh, and drew out in line before it. Sindheea's camp was at Sursoulee, about five miles off: his troops, however, took part in the action, and a charge of his cavalry under Gopal Rao Bhao was spoken of as very gallant. The battle was fought on the 29th November, 1803, and thirty-eight guns fell prize to the victors. Gawilgurh was invested on the 5th December following, and taken by storm on the 15th.

(2) بيني سنگه (3) گاول گڈھ

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ed possession of the treasure left there by Rughoojee, and placed a garrison in the place. He then came to Aseergurh,(1) near Boorhanpoor, and captured it likewise after a few days siege. Rughoojee Ghoosla being quite terror stricken at these proceedings, sent at last his seal (that is a *carte blanche,*) to General Wellesley, consenting to receive from his hands whatever territory he might be pleased to leave him. General Wellesley accordingly made out a treaty of cession for Berar and Cuttack, and restored the rest of his conquests from the Ghoosla.

Doulut Rao Sindheea, likewise, seeing his inability to make a longer stand signed away Hindoostan to the Furingees, and making terms, retired to his own family possessions. The fort of Aseergurh was restored to him by General Wellesley, who thereupon returned to Poona.

These events happened in the year of the Hejira 1219.(2)

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(1) Colonel Stevenson was sent against Boorhanpoor and Aseergurh after the battle of Assaye, and had mastered both places on the 21st October. It is an error of the Ameer to place this event after the battle of Argam, which was followed almost immediately by a treaty with both Mahratta powers.

(2) The Hejira year 1219, commenced on the 12th April, 1804, and ended on the 31st March, 1805. The Hejira year 1218 is the true date, which commenced on the 23d April, 1803.

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BOOK THE FIFTH.

CHAPTER II.

A. D. 1803-1804,

December to July.

Muharaj Holkur's departure for Shahpoora, and detachment of his infantry to Mundisor—He proceeds in person to Ajmeer, and sends his family to Joudhpoor, preparatory to entering the field against General Lake—The Ameer's departure for Bundelkhund and defeat of the Goosaeens—He overpowers a British Detachment, and plunders Kalpee.

MUHARAJ Holkur marching from Muheshur, arrived at Indor, and there deemed it expedient to divide the two bodies composing his army, (that is, the Ameer's troops and his own,) and to distribute them to support themselves upon the country, in such a manner, as to allow of their being promptly re-assembled in case of necessity. He accordingly marched in person into Mewar and reached Shahpoora, and the Ameer went with his cavalry and the new brigade of Colonel Mohummud Shah Khan towards Bundelkhund, by Shujaelpoor, Douraha, (1) Ashta, (2) and

(1) دوراهه (2) آشته

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Bhursea, (1) &c. and so on to Seronj, levying contributions as he marched. Thence he went to Koorwaee Bhourasa, (2) and sent Fyzoollah Khan Bungush (3) to realize a contribution upon Bhilsa, (4) which had already been settled with the people there. To the brigade of Mohummud Shah Khan it was assigned to make collections in the immediate neighbourhood of its encampment, while the Ameer, passing by the ghat of Malthoun, (5) close by Dhamoonee, (6) a strong fort of some celebrity, encamp- at Tehree, (7) belonging to the Oorchha (8) Raja. On hearing of his approach, Ahmuty, (9) the Furingee administrator of Bundelkhund, who was at Banda, marched to meet the Ameer, having with him James's infantry, and some troops of the Jhansee and Dutteea (10) Chiefs, and a body of Goosaeens. With this force he advanced to Elich. (11) The Ameer thinking the ground thereabout unfavorable for an action, because hilly and broken,

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(1) بهرسيا (2) كوروائى بهوراسه

(2) KoorwaeeBhourasa: at page 92, it was written Koorwaee Bhootrasa. In the maps, there is a place called Bowrassa, close to Koorwye.

(3) فيض الله خان بنگش (4) بهيلسه (5) مالٹهون

(6) دهاموني (7) ٹيهري (8) اورچهه

(9) Major Ahmuty and Colonel James Shepherd are the officers here alluded to: the latter commanded an irregular brigade in the service of Ambajee Inglia, and came over with it upon the first advance made into Bundelkhund. Mr. Mercer was the first Political Agent, and he was soon afterwards succeeded by Captain, now Lieutenant Colonel John Baillie.

(10) جهانسى دٹيا (11) ايلچ

(11) This place is in our Maps written Erich. It is the place where Lord Hastings was encamped for ten days or a fortnight, after his Army had been attacked by the Spasmodic Cholera. It affords a very strong position for an encampment.

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and covered with thorny bushes, besides being full of ravines and nullas, and being desirous therefore of drawing the enemy from this position, returned again by the Malthoun Ghat, (1) and sent his brigade and heavy baggage to Koorwaee Bhourasa. Ahmuty thinking from this, that the Ameer had retired from unwillingness to meet him in the field, sent James's brigade, with twelve thousand Goosaeens in the service of the Jhansee Chief, to stop the ghat, and follow the Ameer, while he marched back himself with great self-satisfaction to Banda. Colonel Shepherd, accordingly, came on about nine kos, and encamped to the left of Tehree, at a village close by that place; but, hearing that the Ameer was still at Malthoun, and not liking the exposed position in which he was encamped, he advised the Goosaeens to take the shelter of the town of Tehree. The Goosaeens, however, being puffed up with the conceit of their own valour, said it was out of the question that the Ameer should think of attacking them. The Colonel accordingly, who was a good officer, went himself into Tehree, leaving the Goosaeens where they were. The Ameer, hearing of this, determined on making a night attack upon the latter, and, marching towards evening, came to a distance of about four kos from the Goosaeens' camp; when the horsemen, who were with the Ameer, both

(1) The Ameer has wholly omitted to mention his action with Colonel James Shepherd in which he was beaten off, and which led to his return to Malthoun. There is unfortunately no good English account of these operations in Bundelkhund, the interest of which was quite lost amidst the greater events passing in Hindoostan and the Dukhun. The advance into this Province was for its occupation, Bajee Rao Peshwa having assigned his possessions in Bundelkhund as the subsidy for the troops furnished to him under the Treaty of Bassein. Himmut Buhadur early submitted, but Shumsheer Buhadoor opposed the British detachment for some time in arms, and was at last bought off with an hereditary pension of four lakhs of rupees.

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in front and rear, seeing some lights, thought they were upon the camp of the enemy, and taking a different direction lost their way. When the dawn broke, the Ameer was still two or three kos from the object of his attack, whereupon collecting his men and reproaching them with their negligence, they all asked forgiveness, and begged to be led at once against the enemy. As it was then broad day-light, the Goosaeens had notice of the Ameer's approach. They had also taken precautions against attack, having dug a large ditch, behind which they were drawn up. The Ameer, however, unable to bear their insolence, determined to attack them in their position, and several successive charges were made upon them by his men, but without effect, in consequence of the ditch in question, which was an obstacle they could not overcome. The Ameer was in great trouble at these failures, and calling on God to assist him, led an attack himself by a narrow path which afforded a passage into the ditch. There were with him only nine troopers, amongst whom were Mohumud Saeed Khan Suwasee (1) and others. Escaping by a miracle from the fire of rockets, matchlocks, &c. which were enough to put one in mind of the rain of fire on the day of Judgment, the party succeeded in reaching the other side of the ditch. Immediately on ascending, the Ameer gave his horse the rein, and with sword and spear laid about him so manfully that many of the enemy were quickly brought to the ground. In this perilous adventure, which called to the recollection of the beholders the battles of Roostum and Asfendiar, no less than six of the nine men with the Ameer, lost their lives; but, his star being propitious,

(1) محمد سعید خان سواسی

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the Goosaeens were thrown into confusion, and knew not friend from foe, and took to a precipitous flight. About two thousand of them went away in a body, with their Chief on an elephant, towards the village above noticed, which was at no great distance. The Ameer, with his three followers, pursued them as far as the village, where coming to a difficult piece of road with a thorny hedge on both sides, the runaways looked behind them, and seeing only so small a party, turned upon their pursuers. The Ameer, knowing that the ground allowed no retreat, and thinking there would be no use in further tempting fortune, put his horse on his metal, and was over the thorn hedge like lightning; he received, however, a slight sword wound on the fingers before he made good his way to his own troops, and secured the victory. (1) After this action, the Ameer returned to Malthoun Ghat, and encamped there.

Muharaj Holkur had sent his infantry and artillery from Shahpoora to Mundisor, (2) and with his cavalry went on to Ajmeer. General Lake (3) hearing of this state of things, advanced with a large army and battering train from Cawnpoor to Uleegurh, (4) and

(1) This affair between the Ameer and the Jhansee troops took place towards the end of February, or commencement of March, 1804, after the principal events of Lord Lake's campaign.

(2) مندسور

(3) General Lake took the field from Cawnpoor (Kanhpoor,) on the 7th August, 1803.

(4) Uleegurh, the fortifications of which had been fresh made by M. Perron, was taken by storm, the gates being blown open by guns dragged up for the purpose, on the 4th September, 1803. This bold coup-de-main performed in the face of M. Perron's army, broke the courage and confidence of his troops, and gave a colour to all the operations of the war. There was no treachery or private understanding with Mons. Perron's officers in the capture of this fort. Those officers, who

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being in understanding with Perron, Sindheea's General, then Nazim of the Agra Soobah for Doulut Rao, established his garrison there. Thence making arrangements, he continued his advance to Dehlee, close by which City, at Putpur-Gunj, (1) he defeated Looee Saheb, (Colonel Louis Bourquin) who commanded two of Perron's brigades, (the 2d and 3d). From Dehlee, marching towards the Mewat country, General Lake had another action with a fourth brigade of M. Perron's, and being aided by the Rao Raja of Mucheree, (2) overpowered it also, after which, he placed a garrison in Agra, and by the route of Muthra, marched to a position near Alwur, and encamped there.

Muharaj Holkur hearing of all these events, sent off his family to Joudhpoor to remain with Raja Man Singh, (3) with whom he had a secret understanding, and then went to Hurmara, (4) in the Kishengurh Raja's territory, about five kos from the town. From hence he wrote to the Ameer, with many adjurations, that he had

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were British subjects, had come over under Lord Wellesley's proclamation before the event took place. Monsieur Perron, with Messrs. Beckett and Fleury, joined Lord Lake soon after the fall of Uleegurh, and the former claimed the treasure taken there as private property. The battle of Dehlee was fought on the 11th September, only a week after the capture of this fort.

(1) پٹ پرگنج (2) مچیری

(2) This is the battle of Laswaree; but Ameer Khan is in error in placing it before the capture of Agra, against which place Lord Lake marched immediately after having mastered Dehlee. The fort was surrendered by Colonels Hessing and Sutherland after a skirmish outside the walls and short siege on the 12th October, 1803; but the garrison breaking into mutiny, held out until the 18th, by which time the breaching battery was made ready, and had opened on the walls. The battle of Laswaree was fought on the 1st November following, and seventy-one pieces of cannon were taken in it.

(3) راجہ مانسنگہ جودھپور والہ (4) ہرمارہ علاقہ کشنگڈہ

made up his mind to enter the field against General Lake, which was a serious business, and it was therefore absolutely necessary that the Ameer should rejoin him as soon as possible. The Ameer reflected, that he had undertaken operations in the direction of Bundelkhund; but as yet had done nothing but defeat a few Goosaeens, from whom no credit was to be gained; that he had better therefore do something for his own reputation before he went elsewhere. Keeping this motive to himself, he placed his family in the fort of Koorwaee, and left Colonel Mohummud Shah Khan in Koorwaee Bhourasa. (1) He then dispatched Gholamee Khan, (2) a man of great acuteness, who had raised himself by his abilities, from the situation of a Darogha of the Kitchen, to be agent for the settlement of the affairs of Surdars, to act as his Vakeel with Holkur. After which the Ameer, with his horse unincumbered, set off and plundered Mow (3) in Jhansee; thence continuing his predatory incursion he came to Elich, (4) where he learned from a dawk hurkaru, that at Aminta Mulaya, (5) belonging to Koonch, there were two battalions called volunteers, who were besieging the place, and the main body of the force (6) was encamped about a mile from the trenches. Another British battalion,

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(1) کوروائی بهوراسه (2) غلامي خان (3) موٗعلاقه جهانسي
(4) ایلچ (5) امنتاملایا علاقه کونچ

(6) Colonel Powell had been sent with a brigade into Bundelkhund towards the end of 1803, and it was by him that Major Shepherd was detached towards Jhansee and Tehree, to oppose the Ameer's threatened incursion. Colonel Powell dying, was succeeded in the command by Lieutenant-Colonel Fawcett, who sent a detachment of seven companies against a small fort, about five miles from Koonch. The Killadar while offering to surrender, and negociating the terms, sent to invite the Ameer, who came upon the trenches unexpectedly, on the 22d May 1804, and cut off the party on duty there. Captain Smith retired with the rest of the detachment, and rejoined Colonel Fawcett, having with him a troop of the 5th Native Cavalry and a galloper, with which the Ameer's cavalry were kept at a distance.

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with a corps of regular cavalry, and Himmut Buhadur's Goosaeens, were also stated to be in the neighbourhood. The Ameer, on hearing this, at about nine or ten in the evening, gave his horses an extra feed, and mounted for a night attack on the troops employed in this siege. When he arrived within two or three kos of Mulaya, he detached the Pindaras of his party to plunder the camp, and himself went against the party in the trenches. Just before dawn of the propitious day, he came upon the ground. As the Ameer was scrupulous in the performance of the five prayers, and at such a time in particular, there was reason for addressing the Deity, he dismounted to say the prescribed morning prayer, and added a special supplication for victory from the God of Battles. He then divided his party into three bodies; the right under the command of Mohummud Saeed Khan, (1) Surroor Khan, (2) and Jumsheed Khan. (3) Here also he posted Saleh Mohummud Khan with a Rusala of his special troops—the left wing was composed of the Afreedee and Dukhunee horse, with some independent troopers. The Ekas, or self-mounted troopers, with the Afghans of Kripa Kanor (4) and the rest of the independent troopers, he kept about his own person, (5) and so prepared for attack of the British battalions. The men who were old soldiers and well disciplined, formed square and beat off the Afreedees and Dukhunees of the Ameer's left wing. The horsemen,

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(1) محمد سعید خان (2) سرور خان (3) جمشید خان

(4) افغانان کرپا کا نوروالہ

(5) The party surprised by the Ameer on this occasion, consisted of two companies of Sepoy infantry, and one company of European artillery, the whole under command of Captain Gillespie, who was killed with several other Officers.

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indeed, unable to support their fire, went behind the wall of Mulaya for cover, and there brought up. The Ameer, who had been studying how best to make his attack, turned now his standard elephant right towards the enemy and boldly advanced. Just at this time, the men of the left wing who had gone behind the wall referred to for protection, found a way under guidance of the people of the fort between it and the bazar, or town, and so making an attack in support of the Ameer's charge from a different direction, succeeded in slaying by the point of the spear, and by the edge of the sword, a great many of the enemy: they thus set up the standard of victory, and putting to discomfiture and route the troops with which they were engaged, gave an earnest of the metal of their courage. In short, the Ameer gained in this instance a signal victory, and took (1) five guns and forty tumbrils, and a great quantity of baggage. Lala Kheealee Ram, Raee Himmut Raee's nephew, who was with the Ameer in this battle, distinguished himself much, and his face was adorned by a rose-colored wound. Several other brave men were wounded on this occasion, and some were slain; on the other side there were nearly eighty Europeans killed—not to mention the Sipahees, who were not counted.

While this was going on, the Ameer's Pindaras, who were to have plundered the camp of the enemy, found the battalions for its defence so much on their guard that they saw no opportunity, but were beaten off, and the baggage was safely carried away to Koonch, then occupied as an English station, and only about five

(1) Major Thorn says, two 12-pounders, one 6-pounder, and two howitzers, with all the tumbrils of the park.

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kos from the scene of action. The Pindaras, accordingly, returned to the Ameer, who immediately after the victory marched to Elich.

On the following morning, the English force at Koonch having turned out, the Ameer marched ten or twelve kos from Elich, and harassed it all day. Towards the afternoon, a hurkaru brought him information, that two battalions (1) were then on march upon Koonch, and had encamped at Kalpee. (2) On learning this, it occurred to the Ameer, that if a war between the English and Holkur were on the point of breaking out, it would answer little purpose to hover about and harass the Koonch force; but if, while amusing them, he could destroy the detachment in question, that would be an object worth obtaining, and highly conducive to his own reputation. That very night, therefore, making a forced march, drawn up as usual on plundering expeditions, he set out with this design—

The brave Ameer, the Age's boast,
For Kalpee started with his host;
All night he rode, with high hope flush'd,
And reach'd the foe as morning blush'd:
Out of his saddle leaped the Chief
And breath'd a pray'r sincere, tho' brief,
From th' heart he pray'd, that God on high
Would grant his servant victory.
While the Ameer thus knelt to pray,
Hard by in tents encamped there lay
Of Sepoys, a detachment (3) strong,
Whose leader slept, alas, too long,

(1) The detachment consisted of two companies only.

(2) کالپی

(3) The original has the Do Pultun, "two battalions," hitched into this verse.

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Heedless of fickle Fortune's whim,
And the slipp'ry trick in store for him—
The watch was slack, and none had warning
Of danger and of death, ere morning.
The Ameer now mounts his Charger, tried;
Bridle in hand his troopers ride;
Onward they come, as in foray,
Ready for sword and lance's play;
Onward they come, so sudden and fierce,
In a moment the unform'd ranks they pierce—
True their spear-points deadly thrust,
None they reached, but bit the dust;
Route and ruin in one short minute
Fell on the camp and all within it;
Captive and bound, with taunt and jeer,
They've dragged the leader to th' Ameer,
Who forth his sword has drawn, and cries,
"Speak, ere thy head from thy shoulders flies"—
The Officer said, "give quarter, and take
All I have as my ransom-stake."
Th' Ameer then smiled and thus replied:
"Thy offer of money I deride,
"Keep to thyself thy gold, and go;"
And forthwith he dismissed him so—
Then plann'd to ford the Jumna's stream
And sack Cawnpoor, a worthy scheme,
Ere of his coming Lake should dream.
Long he sought for a ford, to pass,—
God saved Cawnpoor, for none there was.
Compelled this first scheme to forego,
Against Kalpee he dealt the blow,—
Poor came his men, but rich they went,
For wealth was there to their heart's content.

The facts were briefly as follows:—The Ameer making a forced night march, and going a distance of sixty kos without a halt, came, towards the end of the night, upon the ground where the detachment was encamped,

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and by a bold and sudden onset surprised and at once overpowered it. The British Commanding Officer was taken alive, and the Ameer, in a spirit of mercy and extreme generosity,(1) gave him his life and liberty, and this, notwithstanding, that he was a brother of General Elphinstone, a leader of high consideration, and offered large sums of money for his ransom, The Ameer despised his offer, and gave him his release unconditionally. He then planned an expedition to Cawnpoor, but for want of a ford over the Jumna, was compelled to give up that design, and content himself with the plunder of Kalpee, where much property of all kinds was found. Here, there arrived two Camel-mounted Hurkarus, dispatched by Muharaj Holkur, from Hurmara, in Kishengurh, with a most pressing summons of the Ameer to his aid, and an entreaty, that he would come on the wings of haste. The Ameer, accordingly, marched forthwith to Ata, (2) which he plundered, and then went to Koonch. Here he, for eight hours, surrounded Cheen, (3) Furingee, (Capt. Jones) who was marching from Koonch with a

(1) According to Major Thorn, Captain Jones, with two companies of Sepoys, repulsed Ameer Khan, and saved Kalpee from plunder—and this officer is silent as to the surprise of any detachment, except that in the trenches before Mulaya. Colonel James Skinner on the other hand, and other living witnesses, confirm the Ameer's statement of the surprise and overpowering of a detachment, and of his release of the officer, whose name, however, they could not recollect—so likewise the subsequent plundering of Kalpee *town*. Major Thorn admits an *attack* upon Kalpee, and an attempted passage of the Jumna, which can hardly have been after a defeat, hence there is good reason for believing, that the Ameer's account of his falling in with Jones after retiring from Kalpee, is the true statement. The Ameer's force was entirely broken and dispersed in a subsequent affair with Colonel Shepherd, which occurred near Koonch on the 24th June, 1804.

(2)

(3) This must be the detachment of Captain Jones, which is stated by Major Thorn to have beaten off Ameer Khan, and *saved* Kalpee.—See note above.

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force to join Major Ahmuty at Banda. Seeing, however, no advantage to be gained by this, the Ameer broke off, and in forced marches went to Koorwaee by the route of Elich, where, as above stated, he had left his camp and baggage. In the above expedition, when the Ameer went once in the course of his return seventy kos, night and day, (1) within the twenty-four hours, without stopping, there arrived with him, out of three thousand horse, only thirty, at the place of halt.

On arriving at Koorwaee, the Ameer learned that Nuwab Shuhamut Khan, Holkur's General, who was with thirty pieces of artillery, making collections about Pooree Shahabad, (2) one of Sindheea's districts, had lost all his guns, the same having been taken by Jean Baptiste Furingee, an officer in Sindheea's service, who was then carrying them away in triumph. It made the Ameer's blood boil to hear of this, and his first impulse was to attack Baptiste and annihilate him immediately; but, as the horses of his party were completely knocked up, he gave them a rest of eight hours, and taking four or five hundred fresh horse from his camp, proceeded against Baptiste. At Sadhoura (3) he joined the camp of Mohummud Shah Khan, whence he took two thousand fresh horse, and continued his march. Jean Baptiste, however, alarmed at his approach, took refuge in the jungul of Sursee, (4) at the foot of the mountains, and in the ravines thereabout. The Ameer being unable to follow thither with his cavalry, contented himself with plundering

(1) This will have been after his defeat and dispersion by Colonel Shepherd, the encounter with whom is quite forgotten.

(2) پوري شاه آباد (3) سادهوره (4) دشت سرسی

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Baptiste's camp, and then returned to Sadhoura, where his brigade had arrived. Thence he retraced his steps to Koorwaee, where he collected the stragglers of his expedition to Kalpee, and all others over whom he had influence, and marched to Seronj. As the Zumeendars of Bhilsa had availed themselves of the Ameer's absence on the plundering expedition above stated, to refuse payment of the contribution they had promised, and had enticed the horse under command of Fyzoollah Khan Bungush to go over to Baptiste, the Ameer was highly incensed, and marching immediately, invested Bhilsa. (1)

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(1) بهيلسه

BOOK THE FIFTH.

CHAPTER III.

A. D. 1804.

April to August.

General Lake sends Colonel Monson and Lucan against Muharaj Holkur—Holkur engages Lucan, who is killed in action—Monson is defeated and retreats before Holkur, who pursues him to Muthra.

It has been stated, that Muharaj Holkur had determined on taking the field against General Lake, who, after the capture of Dehlee and Agra, had cantoned his army in Alwur. (1) The General hearing that Juswunt Rao had commenced his march northward, and had come as far as Hurmara in Kishengurh, detached Colonel Mon-

(1) General Lake lay in camp at Beeana, on the Jypoor frontier, during the whole of January, 1804, watching Juswunt Rao, who pretending that he had detected a correspondence between his European Officers and the General,—put to death Captains Vickers, Todd and Ryan. His correspondence and proceedings showing the determination to commence hostilities, General Lake, at length, sent forward the detachment under Colonel Monson, in April, 1804. Tonk Rampoora was taken by Colonel Don on the 15th May.

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son and Lucan (1) with a force of six battalions and four thousand Hindoostanee horse recently entertained, also, five hundred horse of the Nabob of Buhraech, (2) and four battalions and four thousand horse of Bapoo Sindheea, one of Doulut Rao's officers, as an advanced division, to act against the Muharaj. This army came to within three or four kos of Hurmara, and encamped there, while the General himself made a few marches in their support. Muharaj Holkur, in the absence of the Ameer and his troops, determined not to give battle, but retiring before the enemy, through the Boondee country, and levying by the way a contribution from Kota, passed by Kelwara, Chhitra, Gokul, and Munohur-Thana, (3) into Malwa. He then moved to Mundisor to join his infantry.

General Lake marched into the Jyepoor country, as far as Lal-Sonth and Lowaeen, (4) for the purpose of engaging Juswunt Rao. Hearing, however, of the slaughter committed by the Ameer in Bundelkhund, (5) and fearing an irruption from that quarter, where there was no

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(1) The Lucan here mentioned was a Mahratta Officer, who came over to Lord Lake under the Proclamation issued by Lord Wellesley, at the commencement of the war. He led the storm of Uleegurh, and was presented by Lord Lake, in consequence, with a Captain's Commission in His Majesty's 76th Regiment of Foot. He was, however, immediately after employed in raising a corps of irregular horse, which he commanded with much distinction, until his death, which took place on the occasion stated in this Chapter, though not precisely in the manner related.

(2) بهرایچ (3) کیلوارہ—چھترا—گوکل—منوهرتھانہ

(4) لعل سونھہ—لوائین .

(5) This is a motive for the return to Cawnpoor that never entered into the General's imagination. The Ameer's expedition to Kalpee was never looked upon as more than a successful inroad of Banditti, to which no importance whatsoever was at any time attached.

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one competent to oppose so active an enemy, he returned himself to Cawnpoor to make arrangements for its defence, carrying back with him a large force of tried battalions and a regiment of Dragoons, with other troops, and leaving Brigadier Monson with the six battalions, and Captain Lucan with his newly raised Hindoostanee horse, two thousand men, also Bapoo Sindheea's army, the Buhraech Suwars and others, as above stated, added to which, were one thousand Jypoor horse,—making altogether a force of ten thousand cavalry and infantry, to follow up the war with Holkur.

Colonel Monson and Lucan accordingly advanced into the Kotah territory, whence they sent back the Jypoor horse and Bapoo Sindheea's infantry, and took instead some troops of Kotah. Still advancing, they passed the Dura-Mukundra (1) Ghat and encamped at Gurot, (2) one stage beyond, establishing posts at Rampoora Bhanpoora, Hinglajgurh, (3) and other places belonging to Holkur.

Muharaj Holkur, who had retired before the English, upon his brigades and main army, which was at Mundisor, advanced now with all his troops to meet the invaders, sending his infantry a stage or two in advance. When the brigades were about one march from Gurot, Colonel Monson, with Lucan and Colonel Pohlman, (4) began

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(1) درہ مکندرہ (2) گروٹ (3) بھان پورہ ہنگلاج گڈھ

(3) Hinglajgurh, called by Europeans Hinglaisgurh, was taken by escalade in the first week of July, 1804.

(4) Colonel Pohlman was not with Colonel Monson's detachment. Colonel Gardner will, probably, be the officer referred to, or perhaps Colonel Don, as it would seem that an officer of infantry is meant.

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to feel alarm, and consulted with Bapoo Sindheea and others as to the best course to be pursued. The Bapoo was in secret understanding with Juswunt Rao, and replied treacherously to the reference for advice to this effect—that, whereas the enemy had come up in great strength, he did not think it would be advisable to give battle with so inferior a force. He added, that he did not like to give advice, as from his being a Mahratta of the same race with the enemy, what he said might be suspected. The English Officers said, they had full confidence in him, and begged that he would speak out. Bapoo upon this gave the following deceitful counsel—That all the infantry should be sent back beyond the Mukundra pass, (1) and encamped there, while the cavalry should be kept on this, that is, the Malwa side, ready to retire likewise, if too strongly pressed.

As the English officers were already panic-stricken, they did not see through the treachery of Bapoo Sindheea, but adopted his advice,—so much so, that Colonels Monson and Pohlman marched back that very day with their battalions, as well as those of Bapoo Sindheea, leaving Lucan, with all the horse, (2) on the side of the pass,

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(1) Major Thorn describes the affair in which Captain Lucan was killed, thus. Colonel Monson having determined to retire within the Mukundra pass, sent off his baggage and stores at four in the morning to Sonara. The troops remained on the ground expecting attack, but seeing no enemy, moved in the same direction at nine A. M., leaving the irregular cavalry under Lucan and Bapoojee Sindheea, with orders to follow in half an hour. They were surprised by Juswunt Rao while thus waiting. This occurred on the 8th July, 1804. A night march from Sonara brought the Colonel within the pass on the morning of the 9th, and on the 12th July, he reached Kotah.

(2) Lucan was deserted by most of the irregular cavalry of the force attached to him. Bapoo Sindheea fled on Holkur's first appearance, and carried the news of the attack to Col. Monson, after which, he went openly over to the enemy. All that stood by Captain Lucan were cut to pieces. These were his own corps, the Kotah and Boondee horse, some men of

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next the enemy. Muharaj Holkur no sooner heard of this movement than he effected a junction with his infantry, which, as above stated, had been marching in advance of the cavalry, and so came with his best troops, inured to battle, to within three or four kos of Gurot. The Pindaras were sent to skirmish and annoy the English in their camp, and they commenced an attack of the picquets and out-posts. Juswunt Rao hearing of their being engaged, went himself with a considerable body to their support. The picquet guard was overpowered and put to flight on his arrival, when yielding to his natural impetuosity, he followed it, and coming on the English cavalry by surprise, he, in the twinkling of an eye, put the whole into confusion, and defeated it before it had time to form!

VERSE.

The Muharaj at Lucan flew,
As swoops a Falcon on its prey,
His water-tempered blade he drew,
And streams of gushing blood found way.

The broken host took fright and flight,
Death was among them freely dealt,
Sepoys and soldiers, black and white,
The sword's keen edge in plenty felt.

A raging Lion, Juswunt Rao,
Came upon Lucan, (1) brave and bold,
And striking at his neck one blow
His head upon the green sward roll'd.

Khetree and of Bulumgurh, and Fyztulub Khan, with about five hundred of the Buhraech horse. The rest of these last fled with their leader.

(1) This account of the death of Lucan, though more poetical, and *reminding one of the battles of Roostum and Asfendiar*, is not consistent with the fact. Lucan was wounded and made prisoner, and died afterwards of his wounds at Kotah.

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The army saw their leader's fate,
And forthwith in confusion turn'd,—
Such the reward of those, whose hate
Like Lucan's against Holkur burn'd.

In short, after Muharaj Holkur had defeated and slain Lucan, and cut off his head, inflicting slaughter on his host (Afzul Khan, the Kota General, being amongst the killed, and Fyztulub Khan of Buhraech, wounded and taken prisoner,) a number of people, who for safety ran from the sea of strife to the banks of the river for escape, found the boat of life unable to stem the whirlpools and dangers of the stream, and were drowned; while others, standing firm on the hard ground of courageous fight, careless of life, had their honor saved by the water-temper of the Victor's swords. Muharaj Holkur obtained immense booty, and many trophies of guns, standards, musquets, and rockets. With these, he freshly supplied his army, and pursued the enemy to the Mukundura pass.

When Monson heard of the defeat and death of Lucan, coiling like a snake about itself in despair, he thought it no longer safe to remain where he was, but marched to Kotah, and asked Zalim Singh (1) for protection, within the walls of that city. The Raj-Rana, though friendly to outward appearance, and with his regard for the English always on his tongue, avoided complying with this request; but desired Monson to encamp outside of the city, under its walls, promising assistance in case of necessity. Colonel Monson saw no help, but to adopt this plan. Zalim Singh, however, who was a cunning man, reflected that it

(1) راجرانا ظالم سنگه

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would be a great point for him to get the war removed from his own territory. Accordingly, having held the Mukundura Ghat for one or two days, while Monson made good his passage across the Chumbul, (1) and, while Holkur also remained at the foot of the Ghat waiting for his artillery and brigades, he suddenly withdrew his troops, and allowed the Mahratta army free passage.

The Colonel had marched to the Chumbul, and the Ghat was still guarded, when a singular circumstance occurred at the river; for, while the artillery of the English army was crossing, about forty or fifty Suwars of the party with Gholamee Khan, the Ameer's Vakeel, who was at Kotah in treaty for the contribution demanded by Holkur from the Raj-Rana, and to see to its realization, happened to be wandering to the banks of the Chumbul. The English, in the excess of their panic, not knowing friend from foe, and finding the way very difficult, abandoned all the guns, (2) near thirty-five pieces, at the first sight of these troopers, thinking it impossible to carry them farther in the face of the enemy, and deeming themselves fortunate in escaping with life. Gholamee Khan's Suwars accordingly carried off the whole of the guns.

Muharaj Holkur passed the Mukundura Ghat immediately after Colonel Monson had crossed the Chumbul, and took up the pursuit of the English, urging their rear

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(1) چنبل

(2) The fact is, that the guns were abandoned from the impossibility of getting them along the deep roads and ravines in the height of the rainy season. They were spiked and rendered unserviceable, and in this state must have been found by Holkur's parties, who freely scoured the whole country round. The guns were abandoned on the first march from Kotah on the 15th July, 1804.

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and flanks with his best horse. Colonel Monson(1) carried his battalions in squares as far as Bugwuntgurh, and was on the point of crossing the Bunas there, when Holkur's army came upon him. Being compelled to fight in order to make good his passage of the river, the Colonel opened his remaining artillery upon Holkur's troops. The Muharaj having no guns with him, sent Bukhshee Bhowanee Sunkur across the river by another ford, and he finding a Ghat of near approach, attacked the troops, who were already passed, amounting to about half of Colonel Monson's army: on learning which, the Colonel abandoning the guns with which he held the Muharaj in check, made the best of his way across the river, and after effecting the passage with extreme difficulty and great loss, continued his flight. The Muharaj having secured these guns also, urged the pursuit with vigor, surrounding the Colonel's army on all sides. But as the English battalions were all thoroughly disciplined, no sooner did Muharaj Holkur's troops approach them,

(1) Colonel Monson retired first to Rampoora, and in this part of his march was not much molested by Holkur's army. He was, however, detained five days, from the 17th to the 22d July, by a little stream, the Chumbelee, which was swollen by the rains, so as to be unfordable. The retreating army reached Rampoora on the 29th July, where it was met by a brigade sent by Lord Lake, with four light guns, two howitzers, and some supplies. Doubting the sufficiency of the supplies, Colonel Monson determined on resuming his retreat, and on leaving a garrison in Rampoora. On the morning of the 22d August he reached the Bunas, and found it impassable. Next day, Holkur's army took up a position round him. By the 24th, the river had fallen so as to be passable with difficulty, some of the army was accordingly crossed over. Major Sinclair, with the 2d battalion 2d regiment, was left to cover the passage, and being attacked by the whole force of Holkur's infantry and artillery, this battalion was cut to pieces. Colonel Monson arrived on the 25th August, at Khooshalgurh, having sacrificed most of his baggage in the passage of the river. Here was a brigade of Sindheea's, which by treaty was to co-operate with the British army, but it had endeavoured to expel the British garrison, and was now at declared enmity. The army after this scarcely maintained its organization, but the Sepoys of each corps marching in bodies, made good their route to Agra, which the first parties reached on the 31st August.

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than they formed square, and opened upon them with musquetry, and so continued their march. In this manner, broken and dispirited, and suffering all manner of hardships, they arrived at Khooshalgurh, (1) by Toradoongur. (2) There they halted in a state approaching to absolute despair, and endeavored to refresh their broken spirits; but the Muharaj arriving, surrounded the place, and for want of supplies, they were compelled to abandon it, and continue their flight to Hindoun, (3) leaving their last gun a trophy to the enemy. The Muharaj, who still pressed on their rear, being provoked at their obstinacy and valor, made here a final attack; but they still formed square, and opposed to him a fire of musquetry,—so much so, that one hundred or two hundred of Holkur's men were killed, and many wounded, in the attacks made. Amongst others, slain on this occasion, was Maghun Singh, (4) a Colonel in Holkur's service. Nevertheless, the Muharaj, by his extreme activity and indefatigable exertions in the pursuit, slew an immense number of the enemy, until at last relaxing his efforts against them, he retired to Muthra, while a poor remnant of the English army made good its retreat to Agra. Here it was, that the Muharaj having won over Gholamee Khan, the Ameer's Vakeel, by conferring on him the title of Nuwab and other favors, sent him with a force of ten or twelve thousand horse into the Koel district, remaining himself at Muthra, in consequence of sickness. He was soon after joined by his infantry and artillery, who had been left behind under command of Hurnath Chela. By the

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(1) خوشحال گڈھ (2) تودہ دونگر (3) ھندون

(4) ماگھن سنگھ کرنیل

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Muharaj's order, they advanced by Alwur on the Dehli road.

The above events happened in the year of the Hejira 1220. (1)

(1) The Hejira year 1220 commenced on the 1st April, 1805, and closed on the 20th March, 1806. In this instance also the Author is a year in advance, for all the events related occurred in the Hejira year 1219, which commenced on the 12th April, 1804.

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BOOK THE FIFTH.

CHAPTER IV.

A. D. 1804.

August to December.

Lord Lake marches from Cawnpoor against Muharaj Holkur—arrives at Muthra by the Agra road—marches thence towards Dehlee to attack Holkur's infantry—Pursues Holkur thither, who suddenly moves against Futtehgurh, and is there defeated by General Lake—returns to Deeg in the Bhurtpoor territory, whither Hurnath Chela had marched with the infantry from Dehlee, defeat of the latter by General Frazer, retires within the walls of the place—General Lake pursues Holkur to Deeg—defeats him there, he retires to Bhurtpoor.

WHEN General Lake heard of Muharaj Holkur's arrival at Muthra, he put himself again in motion with all his veteran battalions and artillery, and came in a few days to Agra. Gholamee Khan, with his detachment, retired from the Koel (1) district in terror at his name, and rejoined

(1) كول

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the Muharaj at Muthra. General Lake collecting what stores and supplies he could at Agra, marched without a halt to Muthra—as he approached, Muharaj Holkur, not deeming it prudent to abide attack there, came out of Muthra about two or three kos. Holkur's infantry were at this time besieging Dehlee, where General Ochterlony had shut himself up and was hard pressed, having but a very inconsiderable force. General Lake was induced, by the desire to relieve him quickly, to avoid (1) an encounter with Muharaj Holkur, and marched for Dehlee against the brigades which had laid siege to it. The Muharaj seeing the General's purpose, wrote to order Hurnath Chela to break up from before the place, and retire into Alwur, and he deputed Bhao Bhaskur, a most skilful negociator, and without equal in intrigue, to conclude a treaty with the Raja of Bhurtpoor, on terms of mutual assistance and protection. Having made these arrangements, the Muharaj followed the army of General Lake, and hung upon its march. All the way to Dehlee, he so surrounded and distressed the General and his troops, that the English for vexation, gnawed the backs of their hands, and had the finger of consternation constantly between their teeth, and although the Muharaj had three horses killed under him by the fire of their artillery, yet, by the blessing of God, he escaped without hurt. The General too was always planning night attacks, but gained nothing by them; while every day on the march, Holkur's troops, on both flanks, hung upon the line, and, watching their opportunity, sometimes opened like a falcon the wing of adventurous attack, and fell upon

(1) The avoidance of action was entirely on the side of Holkur: there was nothing Lord Lake more desired, than to bring the Mahratta army to battle, but Holkur had sent off his infantry and artillery to avoid being compelled to fight against his will.

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the British column, tearing the livers of the quails and partridges of Europeans with the talons of their swords: sometimes again like a lion with roaring rage, they charged the sheepfolds, and scattered the herds.

General Lake every night sent out parties to beat up the quarters of the army which so hung upon him, but this experienced juggler in the legerdemain of war, and thorough master of the stratagems and secrets of the art, never passed the night in one spot. Like quicksilver or like a ruby in fire, he was here and there, and every where, but still not to be found. During the day, the English army forming square in close order, and with great caution made their march, but this Lion of bravery, by a sudden charge, would occasionally break through their line and make a slaughter amongst the ranks. Sometimes, again, with the speed of an arrow from a strong bow, crossing from one flank to the other, he would fall on a column where he was least expected, and thus did infinite damage. All the while the English guns poured grape like the rain of the day of judgment, till for terror the earth itself trembled. This glorious Chief, however, took no account of it whatever, but continued holding the army of the enemy, begirt like a jewel seal in its metal setting, while the reputation he gained gave a splendour to his achievements. This pursuit reduced the General's army to such straights for supplies, that the bird of sense left its nest in their brain.

VERSES.

Round Lake the gallant Holkur hung,
Close on his steps the warriors clung—
Now breaking in upon the rear,
And dealing death with point of spear—

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Now stemming the advancing column,
Which wave-like moved in massy volume.
Now 'tis the right his troopers threaten,
While from the left the ruin's let in.
Harassed on all sides, hope was flown,
Shivered like glass against a stone.
Vainly they practised stratagem,
Too deep was Juswunt Rao for them—
But onward marched in iron square,
Sullen and sunk in deep despair.
From Muthra, thus, to Dehlee, all the way
Lake's army was by Holkur held at bay.

In short, Holkur having hovered about General Lake's army (1) in this manner, until it reached the neighbourhood of Dehlee, and having ordered Hurnath Chela with the brigades and battalions, and with the artillery, to return by the route of Alwur, as stated, wrote to the Chela to remain at Deeg, in the Bhurtpoor territory, and himself, with the forty or fifty thousand cavalry he had with him, marched suddenly to plunder the districts in the possession of the English to the east of Dehlee. He took the route of Bagput and Surdhuna (2) (crossing the Jumna near Kurnal,) to Shamlee, (3) where were two battalions of English, (4) who applied for permission to retire into

(1) The above poetical description of the distress of General Lake's army is a pure flight of the imagination. Holkur's light troops hovered about all day, and encamped always out of reach at night. General Lake marched on uninterruptedly, having the relief of Dehlee for his object, and, except that his bazar was not over well provided, and every thing was at a high price, he was very little further incommoded.

(2) باگپت و سرد هنه . (3) شاملی

(4) This was the 1st Battalion 14th Native Infantry and a Local Battalion, the whole commanded by Colonel Burn, who was surrounded for two days, and then relieved by Lord Lake, who crossed into the Dooab at Bagput. The story of the refusal of the Shamlee Chief to admit the battalions is not true;—the town was too large to be defended by so small a force, and the fort was occupied by Colonel Burn by preference. He was relieved by Lord Lake on the 3d November, 1804.

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the fort, but the Shamlee Chief was friendly at heart to Holkur, and refused to admit them. They took post, however, in a small ruinous fort close by, and made good their stand against the Muharaj, who calling off his troops, marched away with such speed, that in three (1) days he arrived at Furukhabad, (2) and encamped on the river side, near the cantonment of Futeh-gurh, (3) which is close by the city. The public officers and functionaries of the civil station got immediately into boats and crossed the river, by which means they escaped. (4) Making one halt there, Muharaj Holkur designed a march forthwith upon Cawnpoor, but at the special invitation of Nasir Jung, (5) the Nuwab of Furukhabad, who played into the hands of the English, and sent his Chela Sirmust Khan (6) to urge a further stay, the Muharaj was induced to spend the whole day till midnight in natching, feasting, and drinking, so that his head became intoxicated with the wine of carelessness and neglect. While he was thus employed, General Lake, having at Dehlee divided his army, and detached one division, strong in infantry and artillery, and with some Hindoostanee horse, under General Fraser, to attack the brigades under Hurnath at Deeg, himself, with the best of his cavalry regiments and Rusalas, and three or four tried battalions, lightly equipped, followed Juswunt

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(1) This is not true, the march was made by Holkur very leisurely, he was content to keep about thirty miles ahead of General Lake.

(2) فرخ آباد (3) فتحگڈھ

(4) This is not quite true: all the Civil Officers remained in the fort, which with the old cantonment was preserved. The cavalry lines and new cantonment, which were beyond the ravines, and therefore without the line of defence taken up by the troops at Futehgurh, were burned by Holkur.

(5) نواب ناصر جنگ (6) سرمست خان چیله

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Rao Holkur. And, because the Sepahees were unable to keep up with the cavalry, he gave each man at first five rupees, then a Gold Mohur, and at last five Gold Mohurs a piece, (1) to encourage them. Thus, with extreme expedition, he arrived at about seven or eight kos from Furukhabad. Several village and Zumeendaree hurkaras came from good will to the Muharaj, and brought information of General Lake's approach; but as the Nuwab, to serve the English, though himself aware of the certainty of the fact, reported through his vakeels that the intelligence must be false, and the Muharaj was confirmed in his disbelief of it by an official report he had received, that General Lake was on the preceding day forty (2) kos off, he remained confident in his security, and took no precautions against surprise, but went to sleep as if no danger was near. Afterwards, in the course of the night, intelligence came by the dawk, that the General was only four kos off, but the servants would not awaken the Muharaj, taking on themselves to decide that the report was not true. Pending all this, at about midnight, General Lake came down upon Holkur's position (3) with two thousand cavalry, some Sepoy infantry and horse artillery. By some accident, a tumbril blew up just before the onset, and the report awakened the Muharaj to a sense of his danger, so that he was on horseback when the enemy came; and there were a few more, who

(1) This has no foundation in fact: there were with Lord Lake the 12th Native Infantry, the 21st Native Infantry, and two Flank Companies of His Majesty's 17th Foot. They formed a reserve, but did not reach Futehgurh till the second day after Lord Lake.

(2) At Khasgunj, from which place to Futehgurh, Lord Lake made a march of sixty miles in one day, halting a few hours only for refreshment in the middle of the day. Futehgurh was relieved on the 17th November, 1804.

(3) It was just at day break that Lord Lake came upon Holkur's camp. The Tumbril burst as the morning gun of Futehgurh fired.

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had armed and prepared for action, and these collected about the Muharaj. But before the rest were well mounted, the General was upon them with his cavalry and horse artillery, and the bulk of Holkur's troops who were unprepared, and employed in saddling and arming, and making ready, suffered much from the fire of the guns—and, in short, the army was totally defeated with great slaughter.

In the mean time, Hurnath Chela, with his nine regiments of infantry, the Alee-Gholes, and twenty-five thousand horse, retired to Deeg, (1) and encamped by the side of a jheel there. Generals Fraser and Brown, who with six battalions of Native infantry, a regiment of Dragoons, and another of European infantry, added to some Hindoostanee horse, had been detached on this service from Dehlee, marched with all speed to Govurdhun, (2) which is five kos from Deeg, and encamped there: marching again in the night with secrecy and speed, the division came to within two kos of the Muharaj's brigades, and as a jheel intervened between them and Hurnath's army, and the fort of Deeg was to the right, the English General leaving his baggage and reserve there, moved by the left to the attack. Hurnath had mounted some heavy guns upon the Shah-Boorj of Deeg, (3) and his army was drawn up on the ground between the acclivity on which the fort stands, and a village.

The fire of the guns on the Shah Boorj did infinite damage to the baggage and reserve, and to the

(1) دیگ (2) گوردھن

(3) The battle of Deeg was fought on the 13th November, 1804. This account of it is not very correct, but it is to be recollected the Ameer was not present. The British attack was made by turning a jheel, or

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English mainbody while turning the lake. In the attacks also, when made, General Fraser was wounded, and the troops were several times beaten back. But as the English are not wanting in cunning upon occasion, the General seeing the confusion created in his camp and reserve, which was such that the people there were on the point of taking flight (1) to save themselves, bethought him to send notice by hurkaras, that General Lake was close by with succour, and had cut off the enemy's retreat, that as the battle was therefore just gained, no one should move or show alarm. On hearing this news, the reserve, recovering confidence in place of their despondence, made an attack on the brigades. Meerza Ushruf Beg, (2) the Darogha of Holkur's artillery, being in league with the English, had drawn up the ranks of infantry improperly; Bapoo Sindheea also and Tanteea Sindheea were not warm in the cause, and hence, the Muharaj's brigades were defeated, and the Furingee army took many guns, and encamped on the field of battle.

Hurnath Chela upon this retired with a few of his horse, and the remains of his infantry and artillery, into Deeg, receiving protection within its walls, whence every

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morass, between which, and a large deep tank, the enemy were posted, with the fort of Deeg in their rear. General Fraser advanced in two lines, H. M. 76th Foot leading. They first drove the enemy out of a village in front, then captured his first line of guns, and advanced immediately on the second line, which was also captured, but in this attack General Fraser received his wound, and Colonel Monson completed the victory. The British loss was six hundred and forty-three killed and wounded, including twenty-two officers: but eighty-seven pieces of ordnance were taken, and amongst them fourteen that had been abandoned in the retreat from Kotah.

(1) Nothing of this kind occurred.

(2) This accusation of treachery is quite gratuitous, as is evidenced by the returns of killed and wounded on the British side.

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day parties issued to skirmish and harass the English. General Fraser's wound proved mortal, (1) he retired with his army to a distance of about five kos from Deeg on the Muthra road, and died there. Hurnath Chela then came out of Deeg with a force of near twenty-five thousand horse, and surrounding the English army, reduced it to such straights, that the men began to despair of life, and their courage and firmness were fast failing, when most opportunely for them, General Lake wrote from Furukhabad, announcing his victory over Holkur, and the letter was brought safely by the English dawk hurkarus; whereupon they fired a royal salute for the victory, and, in the course of the same night, this news was confirmed to Hurnath by a letter from the Muharaj himself. Giving up, therefore, his plan of surrounding and harassing the English army, Hurnath returned to Deeg at midnight, where the Muharaj himself joined him with the remnant of the army he had carried into the Doab.

General Lake following the Muharaj came to Muthra, where he soon restored to order and confidence the army of General Fraser. In three or four days, he marched with it for Deeg, (2) and immediately, upon arrival, attacked the Shah-Boorj, where the heavy guns of the Muharaj were captured. The Muharaj, who was at this time within the walls of the place, withdrew his forces, and the General thereupon breached the walls of the fort with the guns he had taken, and so established his garrison in Deeg. The Muharaj having for two or three

(1) He lost his leg, and died after amputation.

(2) This account of the capture of Deeg is not very correct. The place was besieged in form, and the Shah-Boorj breached and stormed, whereupon the fort was evacuated, twenty-eight of Holkur's guns were in trenches under the Shah-Boorj, and so fell into the hands of the British. The citadel was occupied on Christmas Day, A. D. 1804.

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days harrassed the General's army, retired to Komher. Usbruf Beg Khan deserted from him at this time, and went over to the General.

These events happened in the Hejira year 1220. (1)

(1) A. D. 1805—1st April, to 20th March, 1806. This date is, therefore, one year in advance like the preceding.—See pages 197 and 221.

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BOOK THE SIXTH.

MAHRATTA WAR WITH THE ENGLISH—SECOND PART —FROM THE SIEGE OF BHURTPOOR TO THE PEACE WITH JUSWUNT RAO HOLKUR.

CHAPTER I.

A. D. 1805.

January and February.

Muharaj Holkur retires on Bhurtpoor, which place is besieged by General Lake—The Muharaj sends for the Ameer from Bhilsa—His departure thence, and arrival at Bhurtpoor—General Lake's first storm before the Ameer reaches the place—its failure—The Ameer joins Holkur—Difficulties of the English in the siege—The Ameer engages in two affairs against convoys—Expedition proposed to him into the British possessions—Undertakes it.

Bhao Bhaskur, Juswunt Rao Holkur's Vakeel to the Bhurtpoor Raja, had by his arts and intrigues completely won over Runjeet Singh, the Raja, to the Holkur interest, and there was a firm friendship established between the Chiefs: accordingly the Muharaj retired on Bhurtpoor, and encamped his brigades, and the Uleeghols with

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Bapoo Sindheea, and Tanteea Sindheea's troops, making altogether four or five battalions, and four thousand horse, under the city wall to the west near the Anar(1) and Komher Gates, (2) while himself with a large body of independent horse, in number near forty thousand, took up ground from Kudum-Khundee (3) to the Muthra and Atulbund Gates, (4) that is, to the north-east of the city. General Lake having taken Deeg, brought his army, (5) consisting of twenty-four battalions, a strong artillery, and fifteen or twenty thousand cavalry, as well regular as Hindoostanee, (including Mohummud Khan's and other Rusalas, that had gone over from Holkur,) to within two kos of Bhurtpoor, on the western face, that is, in front of the Anar and Komher Gates. The Raja sent to make humble excuses, representing to General Lake, that he was now the master of all Hindoostan, and would lose nothing in reputation by passing over his fortress, but on the contrary would gain credit by dealing liberally with him. General Lake, however, would not hear of such a thing as forgiveness.

The Ameer was at this time in Malwa, besieging Bhilsa, (6) the Muharaj wrote him word of his defeats at Furukhabad and Deeg, and intreated, nay conjured him, to come to his aid. If, he wrote, the Ameer deserted him in his present need, or kept aloof from the contest, it was up with him entirely. The Ameer, though much

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(1) انار دروازہ (2) کومہیر دروازہ (3) کدم کھندي

(4) اٹل بند دروازہ

(5) The half of these numbers is the utmost that Lord Lake ever had at one time before Bhurtpoor.

(6) بھیلسہ

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grieving to hear of the bad state of the Muharaj's affairs, still, looking at the folly of his conduct, and in particular at his having enticed over the Ameer's Vakeel, Gholamee Khan, and held him out as the Commander in Chief of the Ameer's troops, with the evident design of secretly undermining the authority and breaking the power of his old associate in arms, was unwilling to join the Muharaj. As the siege of Bhilsa drew to an unexpected length, and sickness fell on the Ameer and his army, he felt great trouble and distress of mind—so much so, that he made an offering to the service of God of all his property, including his tents, Toshuk-khana, and every thing he had. The bounty of Providence was, in consequence, manifested in his behalf, and Bhilsa was taken, yielding an immense booty. Fyzoollah Khan Bungush, a Rusaladar in the Ameer's service, took at first a lease of the place for eighteen lakhs of rupees, but after paying four or five, resigned the engagement from inability to pay more. Then Yoosuf Khan, the Amil of Seronj, who was with the Ameer, offered thirteen lakhs, and took the lease of Bhilsa at that rate. The Ameer gave his troops assignments on the revenues of it to the amount of forty or fifty lakhs, and then marched with his army to Gunj Basouda. (1) As, by reason of the two months' siege of Bhilsa, there were heavy arrears due to the troops, and the Ameer had no money for a journey to Bhurtpoor, he bethought him of the means of raising funds for his immediate wants. Accordingly, he left the bulk of his army to provide themselves, and follow as they might, and himself with only three hundred horse, moved on Deoree Koorchhamur (2) between Sagur and Jubulpoor, distant from Gunj-Basouda about forty kos. The Ameer was

(1) گنج باسودہ (2) دیوري کورچھامر مابین ساگر و جبل پور

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still so unwell as to be obliged to travel in a palkee; but he reached the place in two days, and told the Raja that he came on behalf of the Ameer to demand a contribution. The Raja seeing his small numbers, would come to no terms the first day, but on the following, when other detachments of the Ameer's army began to show themselves, he came to an audience with the Ameer, and agreed to pay one hundred and fifty thousand rupees, Bunaeek Rao, (1) the manager of Sagur, compounded for three lakhs. Murdun Singh, of Mundela, (2) with other Rajas of that neighbourhood, paid also contributions, and all united in advising the Ameer to penetrate by the Rewa Ghats into Mirzapoor and Bunarus, and they promised each a party, with themselves for guides, for the service.

General Lake seeing the mischief the Ameer had done in Bundelkhund, and the detachments and battalions he had cut off, made several offers through Major Ahmuty, (3) the Civil Officer of Bundelkhund, tendering thirteen lakhs of rupees, beyond what General Wellesley had offered, as a Jageer, or Jaeedad, for his quiet settlement under British engagements. But the Ameer's ambition was then high, and he refused every overture of the kind, and sent back for answer that the conquest of the whole of Hindoostan was his aim and object, and he could not

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(1) بنا یک راو راجه ساگر

(1) Bunaeek Rao was manager for Rukhma Baee, widow of the former Chief of Sagur.

(2) مردن سنگه راجه گڈ و مندله

(3) Captain, afterwards Colonel J. Baillie, was the Political Agent in Bundelkhund, and Major Ahmuty had no official charge that could make it probable, he should be the medium for such an offer. The whole story has the appearance of romance and gasconade.

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bring himself to accept of any terms as the price of his forbearance from the pursuit.

Pending these events, frequent letters came from Muharaj Holkur, full of supplications and excuses, and urging the Ameer's immediately joining him, with such aid as he could bring. Seeing how matters stood, and being unable to resist his importunity longer, the Ameer marched with his army from Deoree Koorchhamur to Koorwaee Bhourasa. (1) Thence taking with him the brigade of Mohummud Shah Khan, and the troops immediately attached to himself, and ten or twelve thousand of Kadir Bukhsh and Ramzan Khan's (2) Pindaras, inviting also to accompany him Nagoo Punt (3) and Nuwab Shuhamut Khan, who were then employed by Holkur in making collections in that neighbourhood, the Ameer commenced his march by Mulhargurh and Tomyn Bichhar to Toda, (4) in Malwa, and came as far as Seepree Kolarus. (5) Ambajee Inglia, (6) a Sirdar in Doulut Rao Sindheea's service, was there stationed: he met the Ameer with all kindness, and in the course of conversation said, that both Doulut Rao and Juswunt Rao were unfortunately very young men, whose judgments were not equal to the exigencies of the time, adding—" my honor or shame is in your hands." The Ameer desired by all means to gain this Chief to his purposes, and said—" If you will engage to make no terms with Doulut Rao Sindheea without my knowledge, and through other channels,

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(1) كوروائى بهوراسه
() قادر بخش ورمضان خان
(3) ناگو پنتهه
(4) تومين بچهار تودة
(5) سيپري كولارس
(6) انباجي انگليه

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I am then ready to engage myself in your service." Ambajee was much encouraged by this declaration of the Ameer, and regular conditions, stipulating friendship and mutual assistance, were committed to writing: after which Ambajee proposed, that the Ameer should leave Mohummud Shah Khan with the reserve and baggage of the army, and his own family, at Kolarus, where he engaged for their being taken good care of. He promised also, in case of need, to furnish from two to four thousand horse in aid of the Ameer.

Being induced to confide in Ambajee, the Ameer left Mohummud Shah Khan and his family, as proposed, with him, having first conferred the title of Nuwab Mokhtar-ood-Doula (1) on this officer. Then, marching by the pass of Narwar, (2) without a halt, the Ameer came to the neighbourhood of Gwalior, whence four battalions of the English, who were encamped in the neighbourhood, moved back in alarm, and with all haste on Koonch. The Ameer staid two or three days about Gwalior, levying contributions, in the course of which, he learned that General Jones, with the Unta-Goorgoor (3) (Bombay,) army, had advanced from Buroda (4) in Gujrat to Malwa,

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(1) نواب مختار الدولہ (2) گھاٹھہ مرور (3) انٹاگرگر

(3) Unta-Goorgoor is a nickname, or term of reproach, applied by the Natives of Hindoostan to the Natives of the Malabar Coast. When General Jones' army joined that of Lord Lake, the use of this term in the camp of the latter, gave great offence to the Bombay Sepoys, and was on the point of leading to serious quarrels; wherenpon it was prohibited by beat of drum, under His Lordship's orders. The Ameer invariably designates the Bombay troops by the term, which appears to have its origin in mockery of their pronunciation or style of speech. The European reader will not be ignorant, that the armies of the three Presidencies have all familiar nicknames amongst the English likewise. The Koee Hys, the Muls, or Muleekitanees, and the Ducks.

(4) براودہ

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and had written to Ambajee, that as peace existed between his master Doulut Rao and the English, his giving refuge and protection to the family and baggage of the Ameer was highly improper; that he expected, therefore, the troops would be immediately dismissed, or he should be compelled to bring the English army against him. General Lake wrote to the same effect to Ambajee,—whereupon he dismissed Mookhtar-ood-Doula's brigade in a hurry. The Ameer being then well on his way to Bhurtpoor, the new Nuwab was at a loss how to act. Raja Doorjun Sal Kheechee, however, who was with Ambajee, restored Mookhtar-ood-Doula to some confidence, and conducted him to Sadhoura, (1) in Malwa. The Raj-Rana Zalim Singh, of Kotah, who was a man ever on the watch, consulted with his advisers, and observed to them, that he should gain the Ameer for life by receiving his family in their distress, into some place belonging to Kotah. The Raj-Rana's counsellors approved the scheme, and he sent thereupon an Afghan, named Mohummud Noor Khan, (2) a man of skill and intelligence, to invite the Ameer's family. The Afghan went to Mookhtar-ood-Doula and explained on the part of the Raj-Rana, that although he dared not, under existing circumstances, receive the brigade, and avow himself a partizan of the same side, still that the fort of Sheergurh (3) was open as a place of refuge for the Ameer's family. Mookhtar-ood-Doula and the other faithful adherents of the Ameer approved the scheme, and eagerly seized the offer. Accordingly, the fort of Sheergurh was occupied by the Ameer's family, who were hastily sent off thither for the purpose. Mookhtar-ood-Doula continued making col-

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(1) سادهورہ (2) نورمحمدخان (3) شیرگڈہ

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lections in the neighbourhood where he was, and by his courage and exertions maintained and kept together his force. For some time also he took service with Sindheea, and disciplined other brigades for that Chief.

Meanwhile, the Ameer proceeding on from Gwalior, crossed the Chumbul at Dholpoor (1) Baree. Here he was met by Mohummud Khan Afreedee (2) and others, charged with offers from General Lake, to confirm all that had been promised by General Wellesley, and to treat, in short, for the Ameer's transfer of his services, (3) in consideration of assignments in money and territory. They offered eighteen lakhs in territory, increasing upon previous overtures. The Ameer replied, "Never entertain the hope that I shall be so gained. God has given me a higher ambition, and the completion of my hopes is in his hands." Raja Runjeet Singh (4) of Bhurtpoor hearing of this overture, asked of Muharaj Holkur what he thought of it, saying, that if the English should succeed in gaining the Ameer over, the result would be fatal to them. The Muharaj replied, "I look upon the Ameer as a brother, and have full confidence in him. Let not your mind be disturbed with any misgivings on the subject." After this, the Bhurtpoor Raja also was satisfied.

In the mean time, the Ameer advanced from Dholpoor to about twenty kos from Bhurtpoor. General

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(1) دهولپور (2) محمد خان افریدي

(3) There is no confirmation of this in any record, nor do the living witnesses of these events recollect any overtures of this kind, as having been made to the Ameer.

(4) راجه رنجیت سنگه راجه بهرت پور

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Lake hearing of his approach, determined to attempt a storm (1) before his arrival, thinking that, if he joined the troops engaged in the defence of the place, success would be more difficult. Accordingly, although there was yet no practicable breach in the wall of the place, a storm (2) was attempted with extraordinary boldness and perseverance; but as Raja Runjeet Singh was a man of courage and well on his guard, and at the very time of the storm was watching in the defences, the assailants were driven back, and many European soldiers and sepoys were slain in and about the ditch. General Lake disheartened at this failure, retired to his camp. The Muharaj to make his peace with the Ameer, sent Gholamee Khan to him with a lakh of rupees, and with many excuses for the past, and intreaties for present aid: Gholamee Khan, it was added, as the Ameer's servant, might be dealt with according to his pleasure. Upon the arrival of this messenger, the Ameer distributed the money he brought among his troops, and marched forthwith to Futehpoor Seekree. (3) The Muharaj hearing of his arrival with a small force of only one or two thousand horse, came out to meet him there, and repeated in person the excuses, made before through others, for his past conduct. Marching then with the Ameer, both alighted at a spot distant about five kos from Bhurtpoor, and the Muharaj thence

(1) This motive for hurrying the storm is very gratuitously assumed, and assuredly never occurred to Lord Lake.

(2) The first storm took place on the night of the 9th January, 1805, and was intended to be a surprise, but owing to the broken ground and to some confusion in getting over the wet ditch the columns got scattered, and the alarm was given. A party of the Flank Companies of H. M. 22d ascended the breach, however, and made a lodgment, which they held for a considerable time. But not being supported, they were finally driven out, and Colonel Maitland, who commanded the storm, being killed, the party was recalled after a very persevering attack. The heaviest loss was suffered in the retreat.

(3) فتحپور سیکري

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returned to his own camp, which was two kos from the town. The Ameer remained where he was for that day, but next morning at about 9 or 10 A. M. before his main body had joined, he moved the camp to a position, close to Bhurtpoor, leaving order that his troops, as they came up, should be sent on to the new ground. The Ameer himself, without dismounting, went on with fifteen or twenty horsemen to wait upon the Muharaj, whose camp was two kos distant. The meeting accordingly took place, and the two Sirdars having eaten together, were engaged in converse, when a heavy cloud of dust appeared over the spot where the Ameer had ordered his camp to be pitched. An hurkaru brought intelligence that twelve regiments and four battalions of the English army were marching straight for the Ameer's camp, while the rest of the enemy's army were preparing again to storm the town. (1) The Ameer mounted forthwith, and went to his camp and moved out against the enemy with such horse as were arrived. The English, however, being well disciplined, formed square, and receiving the Ameer with a fire of grape and musquetry, drove back his charge. Finding, therefore, that an open attack in a body was of no avail, the Ameer hit upon this expedient for harrassing the English army. He ordered all the horse with him to separate and surround them on all

(1) It is quite true, that as the second storm was leaving the trenches, the Ameer's troops were observed coming into their camp, and a strong party of cavalry and horse artillery were sent to keep them in play, and prevent their obstructing the storm. Lord Lake went in person with this covering party, but the enemy could not be brought to action. A distant cannonade was all that occurred. The second storm took place at 3 P. M. of the 21st January, 1805. The column went provided with portable bridges for crossing the ditch. These, however, proved too short, and there being eight feet water in the ditch at the point, it was found impossible to cross. After suffering much, therefore, while waiting at the edge of the glacis, the column was recalled.

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sides, and to fall upon the enemy each as opportunity might offer. The Ameer's men acting on this principle, and being inspired with fresh courage, separated into small parties, and commenced attacks from all sides, whereby they greatly harrassed the English columns. Meanwhile, further troops of the Ameer's army came up and joined in the action, and such a series of successive attacks commenced, that the enemy lost the advantage of his discipline and square formation. (1) The Muharaj also had mounted, and the Ameer, seeing him coming to his assistance, was well pleased, and sent to say, that if he would make a movement on the English rear, so as to draw their attention to that quarter, the business would soon be settled, as a lamp expires when the oil is expended. The Muharaj, however, was envious, and thought that if he were to give aid in this manner, and the Ameer were in consequence to succeed against the enemy, the entire credit would be his. He accordingly kept aloof, and did not mix at all in the action.

While this was passing, General Lake had ordered another storm, and after repeated attempts to scale the walls, had been beaten back and returned to his camp. The English regiments and battalions, who were engaged with the Ameer, seeing this, returned likewise to their camp in great confusion, being followed part of the way by the Ameer's troops.

Two or three days after this, Raja Runjeet Singh sent for the Ameer, and received him with all honor, saying,

(1) The close formation of the cavalry regiments, with their artillery, were the object of the Ameer's respect on this occasion, for there was no infantry. General Lake returned with the covering party into camp after the storm had failed.

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that he relied on the Ameer's courage and skill to carry him through the siege, so that he might acquire for himself a name and reputation. The Ameer replied, "Man may be daring, but God must aid the cause. Please God! my horse shall be spurred once home to the charge in the battle-field of courage, and my spear shall mix with their bayonets, and from a fight with musquetry and cannon it shall be brought to a trial with sword and dagger, and be the victory then to those, to whom the Great God of Battles may assign it: but for the present wants of my troops I require ten lakhs of rupees." The Raja agreed to advance this sum, and a settlement was made to the effect. A few days afterwards, news arrived that a convoy (1) of provisions was on its way from Muthra, and had reached to about five or six kos from Bhurtpoor. Raja Runjeet Singh hearing of it, sent word to the Ameer that now was the time to put his professions to the test, for that the convoy must not reach the English camp. The Ameer immediately started, with such troops as were at hand, towards the point where the convoy was approaching, and although Jumsheed Khan, Mohummud Saeed Khan, (2) Suroor Khan, (3) and other Rusaladars were then on camp-duty about two kos off, the Ameer would

(1) A Regiment of Native Cavalry, the 1st, and one Battalion of Infantry, the 15th Native Infantry, were sent from Lord Lake's camp, on the day after the second storm, under command of Captain Walsh, to bring up a convoy of twelve thousand bullocks coming to the besieging army. They were beset by Ameer Khan on the 23d January, and took post in a village at day break. The Ameer captured two guns, and got possession of part of the village, but at about eight in the morning, Colonel Reed arrived with a Regiment of Dragoons, and another of Native Cavalry, and on seeing their dust the troops in the village sallied out, recovered their own guns, and captured four of the Ameer's besides. The Ameer is said by Major Thorn to have escaped on foot, and in disguise.

(2) جمشید خان محمد سعید خان (3) سرور خان

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not wait for their joining, but went with all haste to meet the escort which was bringing up supplies for the English army. Making repeated charges, he put hors-de-combat many Sepoys of the battalions on this duty—many of them fell victims to the swords and spears of the Ameer's men, and the guns of the convoy, with a great part of the stores and supplies, fell into his power, and were plundered. Two or three companies of Sepoys who were separated from the rest, took refuge in a village about a kos distant from the English camp. Bapoo Sindheea hearing of it, brought up some artillery and battalions, with some of his horse, to attack the village, and a fire was opened upon it. The Ameer hearing the guns, called out "What artillery is that?" and was told, it was Bapoo Sindheea's artillery, firing at the Sepoys of the escort (1) in the village. The Ameer upon this frowned in rage, and called out, "Such folly as this of Bapoo Sindheea's, no fool in the world ever committed before. Here is the English army close by: on hearing the report of these guns, they will be sending succour immediately, and we shall then be in a pretty plight." While the Ameer was still speaking, the head of a column of European troops made its appearance, and the Ameer sent word to Bapoo Sindheea, to see now the fruits of his act. Soon after, a force with guns approached, and the Sepoys in the village seeing themselves thus strongly supported, acquired fresh courage, and opened on Bapoo Sindheea's troops with musquetry out of the village, aided by the fresh troops which had arrived with artillery.

(1) This part of the story is not consistent with the fact that the escort itself had guns, which were captured by the Ameer, after many rounds. The report of them could be heard just as well in Lord Lake's camp as that of Bapoo Sindheea's guns.

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Thus the English not only recovered the guns that the Ameer had captured, but took also those brought up by Bapoo Sindheea; and his troops, as well as those of the Ameer, who were acting with them, were compelled to make a precipitate retreat. The party about the Ameer's person, according to the proverb, one melon acquires flavor from another, seeing the Bapoo's troops in flight, turned their backs also on the enemy, without coming at all to close quarters. The Ameer himself, with two or three troopers, was standing watching the battle, and desired at this time to charge. One of his companions, however, when he gave the word, said, "Look before and behind you! where are the troopers to make the charge?" The Ameer seeing how matters stood, and recollecting the words of the Poet,

> There needs an army for a war,
> What can be done by one Suwar?

turned himself, also, in the direction the flying troops had taken, and with blows of his cane attempted to rally and bring round the fugitives, but it was all in vain. Hereupon the Ameer made for his standard elephant, and, with two hundred horse who were about it, turned against the English batteries, and having checked them by his charge, retired himself to camp.

Raja Runjeet Singh who had been watching and saw the whole, and was witness therefore to the bravery and good conduct of the Ameer, and to the manner in which Bapoo Sindheea had interfered to ruin and spoil every thing, sent for the Ameer, and spoke encouragingly to him, and said, he had now seen verified what he had before heard of his bravery—but that Bapoo Sindheea's ill-advised conduct

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had been the cause of failure, and he kindly added, "But "my friend is safe, and his friendship remains." A few days after this, Raja Runjeet Singh and Muharaj Holkur sent again for the Ameer, and said that they had certain intelligence of another large convoy (1) being on its way to join the English army, that it was to come from Muthra in a day or two. If therefore the Ameer could succeed in cutting it off, it would be a great victory gained in the first place, and in the next must compel the English to raise the siege. On the other hand, if the convoy should arrive safe, matters would go hard with them, through the additional means the besiegers would thence obtain. The Ameer cheerfully undertook this service, and started immediately for its execution. Moving from his ground, he proceeded with his troops to a distance of about three kos from Bhurtpoor, and two from the English army on the northern road, and there sat himself down. But as the enemy were very near, he kept a most careful watch night and day, and to guard against surprise, he had parties of horse at a miles' distance always in picquet. As his own charger was constantly caparisoned and ready, he mounted when he chose, and rode skirmishing close up to the enemy's out-posts. While thus employed, a Dâk Chuprasee brought him word, that a large convoy was coming from Muthra, under the escort of four battalions and two thousand horse.

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(1) On the 24th January, a Regiment of Dragoons, two of Native Cavalry, and three Battalions of Infantry left Lord Lake's camp to bring up a convoy from Agra of fifty thousand bullocks. On the 29th, about midway, between Agra and Bhurtpoor, the convoy was attacked by the whole of Holkur's, Ameer Khan's, and the Raja of Bhurtpoor's Cavalry. Lord Lake, however, moved out of camp with all his remaining Cavalry, and effected a junction with the convoy. Remaining that night in bivouac, the convoy was next morning brought safe into camp without any fighting, except the occasional opening of a galloper, and one skirmish of a few men of the 8th Light Dragoons.

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The Ameer immediately gave orders to his party to march along the Muthra road, while he returned nearly alone to the Muharaj, to say, that as soon as General Lake should learn, that the Ameer was off for the convoy, he would immediately move out his best troops to cover and secure it, and that would be the time for the Muharaj to fall on the General's camp, which would be ill-provided for defence—that he must, therefore, on no account, lose such an opportunity for striking a blow: and if the Muharaj thought the enterprize hazardous, and preferred going after the convoy, that he (the Ameer,) was ready to undertake the attack of the camp. The Muharaj said, "Go you after the convoy, I will not fail you here. We shall see what can be done." The Ameer accordingly mounting again, formed his men, who were on march, and in the twinkling of an eye, was upon the convoy, which had reached to about five kos from Bhurtpoor. On the Ameer's first appearance, the English battalions, who were all well trained, formed their squares, and prepared for action, and some skirmishing commenced. Before an hour had passed, however, General Lake came out with four battalions, twelve regiments of cavalry, and two thousand Hindoostanee horse, and some horse artillery, to rescue and secure his convoy. Several of the Ameer's men who had been left behind to watch, brought intelligence of this movement. The Ameer was preparing for action with reference to this expected contingency, when Holkur came into the field with all his light troops. As this was not in conformity with the plan laid down, the Ameer was much vexed at the folly, which had induced him to come. Riding up to the Muharaj in great anger, the Ameer said, "If your Highness had but stuck to the plan which was arranged between us, our wishes would

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have been crowned with complete success." The Muharaj, making excuses, said, "I thought it would be better this way, but hereafter will be more careful." The day was by this time drawing to a close, and the Ameer and Muharaj accordingly bivouacked for the night. In the morning the army was drawn up in three bodies. On the right was the Ameer, with some Pindaras and Dukhunees, and his own horse. On the left, Holkur commanded, with his personal troops. Chimna Bhao, one of Holkur's principal Commanders, was thrown forward with the centre, consisting also of Pindaras and Dukhunees. The fighting lasted all day. Chimna Bhao, who had to sustain the brunt of the action at the commencement, was beaten back by the fire of musquetry and cannon, and took to flight. Holkur likewise, when he advanced to charge with the left wing, made no impression, and turned to the right about. But the Ameer, with the right wing, kept the enemy so in play with his skirmishing and irregular attacks, that he could make no advance in his march. Night closed over both armies,(1) and they encamped on the ground close to one another. The Ameer and the Muharaj surrounded the enemy all night. When two hours remained to morning, General Lake forming his troops into a square, and placing the convoy on the centre, began his march. The Ameer recommended a pell-mell charge, but the Muharaj taking upon himself his old authority, forbad the thing, saying, "The enemy is now cautious, and has formed square in preparation against such an attempt. The attack would be ill-timed, and a mere useless waste of courage

(1) The Ameer is in error in making this affair extend to a second day—Lord Lake was out but one night. The troops were never formed into squares, but moved in two colonmns, with the convoy between and an advance and rear guard. The march was uninterrupted.

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and life. My troops too, who have been beaten at Furukhabad and Deeg, will not have the confidence, nor will they inspire the terror necessary for success in such an attack. Your troops again, who have been successful in Bundelkhund, and are much dreaded by the enemy, must not hazard the loss of this advantage by unsuccessful charges. There is still much for you to do." The Ameer not thinking it proper to act contrary to the Muharaj's injunctions, kept out of the battle which followed, and returned to his own camp. After a day or two, Raja Runjeet Singh sent for the Muharaj and for the Ameer, and said, "As both Sirdars could not act well together in the same field, it would be better that one should remain at Bhurtpoor, while the other headed an incursion into the enemy's territory, and carried the war thither." Muharaj Holkur recollecting his misfortunes at Furukhabad and Deeg, declined undertaking this part, saying, that his army had suffered so much in action, that it wanted the spirit and equipment for such light service; but he turned to the Ameer, and said, "Do you, brother! now take your turn in such expeditions, and carry the war into the enemy's country with all vigour." The Ameer cheerfully undertook the service, and prepared to march.

These events happened in the year of the Hejira 1221. (1)

(1) 21st March 1806 to 10th March 1807. This date also is one year in advance. The events, indeed, come down only to February, 1805, which was before the close of 1219 Hejira.

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BOOK THE SIXTH.

CHAPTER II.

A. D. 1805.

February to April.

The Ameer marches towards his Native Country Sunbhul —Visits Seer-Kot and other places under the hills of Rohilkhund—Affair with General Smith—The Ameer retires in consequence of the desertion of his men with the booty they obtained—His return to Bhurtpoor—Occurrences there during his absence— The Raja accepts terms from the English.

THE Ameer having thus learned the wishes of Raja Runjeet Singh and of Muharaj Holkur, marched with a body of horse, lightly equipped, for Kuthér, (1) (Rohilkhund) and crossed the Jumna by the Ghat of Muhabun. (2) Here he commenced levying contributions, and, plundering Gokul (3) by the way, he made for Kumona, (4) by the route of Juwar. (5) There were four English battalions then beseiging Kumona, which was

(1) Ameer Khan crossed the Jumna on this expedition on the 7th February, 1805.

(1) کٹھیر (2) مہابن (3) کوکل (4) کمونہ (5) جوار

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held out against them by Doondee Khan, the Zumeendar. Thinking the Ameer had come upon Doondee Khan's invitation to succour the place, they immediately retired upon Uleegurh. (1) The Ameer leaving Kumona passed by Busteenugur, (2) Sursuteepoor, (3) and Julalpoor, (4) places on the Ganges, and still advancing, reached the Ghat of Poot, (5) and encamped. The Ameer had gone that day seventy kos, looking all the way for a ford over the Ganges, but could find none practicable. Giving up the search in that direction, he made for Prichheet-gurh, (6) and began the search there, and near the Ghat of Kumr-ood-deen-nugur, (7) but found no practicable ford at either place. That day he had marched thirty kos, and still his object was not accomplished, and he felt that the time and labour lost, like water that has once flowed from the fountain, could not be brought back. Giving up the search in despair, the Ameer was thinking of making immediately for the Ghats of Hurdwar (8) and Surfuraznugur, (9) which were still a long way off, when, while he was travelling on, troubled in mind on this account, an old man of intelligence was sent by Providence from the invisible world, and pointed out a road to the shore of his desires. He told the Ameer there was, close by, a Ghat of easy passage. Hearing these words

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(1) Colonel Grueber, with two battalions and two companies of regular troops, and some Sebundees, also one thousand five hundred of Skinner's irregular horse, had proceeded against Kumona, and retired, as here stated, to Uleegurh, on hearing of the Ameer's approach. General Smith, who had been detached by General Lake in pursuit of the Ameer, directly his purpose was known, made a night march on the 11th February, in hope of overtaking him at Kumona, but arrived too late.

(1) بستي نگر (2) سرستي پور (3) جلالپور

(4) گهاٹ پوٹ (5) پريچهيت گڈه (6) قمرالد ين نگر

(7) هردوار (8) سرفرازنگر

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of the old man, which the Ameer looked upon as a revelation from the Deity, he was much delighted; and by the old man's guidance, which was like that of Elijah (Khizur,) to the fountain of life, he was taken to a part of the river where the man told him boldly to cross, and immediately disappeared. The Ameer looked upon this as a special dispensation of Providence in his favor, and went upon his knees to offer thanksgiving. Again, he reflected, that he knew not yet whether the river was fordable at the spot or no, and how was that to be ascertained; but as he had great faith in religion, he brought the boat of his resolution out of the whirlpools of hesitation to the shore of confidence, by the strong rope of his reliance on the favor of the Deity. The Ameer stood on the bank of the Ganges, and made an offering to it of some beetul leaf, roses, and money, and said, "Oh Gunga, the Hindoos worship thee, and look upon thee as an image of the Divine power. If then it be true, that you represent the attributes of the Divinity, and a ray of the Omnipotence of God is displayed in my person also—give me now a propitious passage." The Ameer said this, and with a clean heart, summoning courage for the adventure, mounted his elephant, and pushed into the river. As in all things, the splendour of the divine beauty is apparent, the Ganges proved to be fordable at the point, and the Ameer crossed with all his horse, (1) the girths even not being wetted, so shallow was the water. Even the goats and sheep crossed without difficulty. The Ameer then encamped at Dhunoura, (2) on the left

(1) General Smith crossed in pursuit, at the same Ghat, on the 15th February, and found the river nearly half a mile wide, and the water breast high. Some tattoos and bullocks were carried down the stream, and the people drowned.

(2) دهنورہ

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bank of this famous river. Next morning he went on to Amroha, (1) and marching thence by night, at about 9 or 10 A. M. arrived at Moradabad, (2) where was a party of English, with whom he had an action. (3) Several fell victims to the swords and spears of the soldiers of the faith, and many fled and escaped, Thousands of prisoners were released by the Ameer from the jail, and money was given them for their immediate support. The Ameer had an affection for this city, and spared it. He had also another motive; viz. that were he to plunder and destroy so famous a place as Moradabad, the reputation of the action would go before him, and every body would fly at his approach, and he would find nothing in the country any where. Crossing the Ramgunga, (4) which was fordable, and passing a village on the opposite bank, the Ameer encamped on the side of it towards Rampoor.

Here an informer brought him intelligence of a buried treasure deposited by Raee-Rutun Chund, (5) a Lukhnou Dewan. He said, there were heaps of money, rich stuffs, and other goods. The Ameer sent his nephew, Ahmed Khan, (6) with Fyzoollah Khan Bungush and Ubdoollah Khan, (7) an old servant, to bring away this treasure. Coming to the place pointed out, Ahmed Khan and the

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(1) امروهه (2) مراد آباد

(3) The Sebundee lines, the jail, and all the gentlemen's houses, except that of Mr. Leycester, which had been prepared for defence, were destroyed by the Ameer. His people lay for two days before Mr. Leycester's house, firing at the windows, and had begun collecting bags of cotton for a storm of the works thrown up, but decamped on hearing of General Smith's approach.

(4) رام گنگا (5) راي رتن چند (6) احمد خان
(7) عبد الله خان

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rest commenced digging and soon discovered bales of cloth, kimkhabs, shawls, &c. They next came to some silver coin. Ahmed Khan being a liberal man, divided the goods and silver amongst the people with him, giving each much beyond his hopes, and brought back to the Ameer only thirty-five thousand rupees in all. The informer reported that gold would be found underneath, but as the day was drawing to a close, Fyzoollah Khan Bungush told them to search no more, as there was nothing else.

Next morning, the Ameer commenced an attack upon a house (1) the English had prepared for defence, and where there were some companies of Sepoys. In consequence of the depth of the ditch, his attack failed. He continued before the place, however, till the middle of the night, when his men brought to him some hurkarus of General Smith, (2) who had English and Persian letters addressed to different people of the station. From these, the Ameer discovered that General Smith might be expected with a considerable force at midday of the following date. Thinking it inexpedient, therefore, to wait longer, he set off by night, and proceeded by Tanda to Kasheepoor, (3) which place he plundered, and encamped there. It had scarcely dawned next day, when General Smith arrived at Moradabad with Mr. Metcalfe, and Captains

(1) The house here referred to must be that of Mr. Leycester, the Judge and Magistrate of Moradabad. It had been surrounded by parties of matchlock-men, from the time of the Ameer's arrival at Moradabad, but was attacked in force the second day.

(2) This officer is uniformly called General Scott at the commencement of this Chapter, but as there can be no doubt that General Smith is the person referred to—the Translator has given the right name.

(3) کاشی پور ٹانڈہ

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Skinner and Murray, followed by several battalions and parties of Hindoostanee horse. These had come in pursuit of the Ameer, who was already at Kasheepoor, as above stated: thence he made for the hills under Kumaon and arrived at Tajpoor, (1) which he sacked. In that neighbourhood he remained near a week, sending his Pindaras and other parties to plunder as far as Peeleebheet and Roodurpoor, (2) under the hills. General Smith advanced from Moradabad to Rampoor, and began enquiring of the Nuwab Nussur Oolah Khan (3) where the Ameer might be. He replied, that the intelligence of his being at Tajpoor was certain, but beyond that, it was doubtful where he might be. The Ameer fearing he might be shut in, if he waited the arrival of the English army in that position, took the route of Kasheepoor (4) and Seerkot, (5) which he plundered, and so came to Dhampoor Nugeena. (6) That day his troops were much scattered from marching in the evening. He, consequently, arrived at Nujeebabad (7) with only about two or four thousand horse, but there he got a large booty, and went on to Keerutpoor. (8) Here he collected the stragglers, and as they came in, caused all prisoners of the religion of Mohummud to be released as an act of charity. It was the Ameer's intention to have moved again on Moradabad, but while he was preparing to do so, General Smith approached with his army, and skirmishing began, which continued till the evening. At midnight, the Ameer marched, and having it in design to tire

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(1) تاج پور (2) پيلي بهيت رودرپور (3) نواب نصرالله خان

(4) كاشي پور (5) سيركوٹ (6) دهام پور نگينه

(7) نجيب آباد (8) كيرت پور

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out the enemy before he joined battle, moved back by Seerkot, towards Afzulgurh, (1) to which place he called in all stragglers, making a halt to allow them time to come in. The Pindaras and stragglers had but half joined, (and some of the former, on account of a private quarrel with the other troops, would not encamp at less distance than two kos from the main body, which led to the force being further scattered,) when General Smith came up with his dragoons and horse artillery. The Ameer went out to meet him with a body of horse, from two to four thousand strong. On his right was Jumsheed Khan and Mohummud Sueed Khan and Ruhmut Khan. (2) To the left, Baqee Mohummud Khan and Shuhamut Khan, (3) with the Afreedees. The Ameer himself was in front of the centre with about three hundred independent horse, picked men, in armour, and with these he determined to bear the brunt of the action. Jumsheed and Mohummud Sueed Khan went boldly on from the right against the head of the English column, whence a tremendous fire of artillery was opened, which fell like hail amongst the Ameer's men. The effect was such that Baqee Mohummud Khan with Shuhamut Khan, and the Afreedees from the left, were driven to the right about, and kept aloof from the action. The Ameer seeing the confusion in that quarter, hastened to rally the Afreedees, and bring them again into the field, and he desired his Yeka (independent) horse, (4)

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(1) افضل گڈھ (2) جمشید خان محمد سعید خان رحمت خان

(3) باقي محمد خان- شهامت خان

(4) The Yeka horse made a charge upon the horse artillery, which was for a time in some jeopardy, when Captain now Lieutenant-Colonel Skinner, C. B., came up with his corps of seven hundred Hindoostanee horse, and completely destroyed the Yekas, capturing seven golden standards and two Chiefs. The Ameer himself was with his Yekas, though as they were defeated, it is convenient to represent himself as in a different part of the field at the time. This affair took place on the 2d March, 1804.

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on no account to move from where they were until his return—neither to advance nor retire, though it might be for victory or defeat. The Ameer had scarcely got to the Afreedees, when his choice troops advanced to engage, notwithstanding this positive injunction to the contrary: for, seeing the bold attack of Jumsheed Khan, their courage and impetuosity could no longer be restrained, but on they went to the charge for his support. Many of them were killed and wounded by the English grape. Jumsheed Khan and Mohummud Sueed Khan, who had distinguished themselves by the boldness of their advance, drew up when they saw Baqee Mohummud Khan hesitate, and thus became much exposed, and suffered greatly from the grape fire, so as at last to break, and fly before the enemy. In the mean time, the Pindaras of the Ameer's army having got into the rear of the English, plundered a few elephants, and made off from the field. The Ameer, in this extremity, returned to where he had desired the Yeka horse to wait for him, intending there to take his measures to retrieve the battle. There, however, he found nothing but a beggarly account of killed and wounded: he ascertained, however, that although his men had advanced contrary to his orders, and so had unnecessarily met their fate, they had behaved well, and their boldness had excited admiration. The Ameer then made for his standard elephant, which was in some Jharjungul, (bush-cover) near the field of action. (1) Collecting there some forty or fifty horsemen, he brought up his standard to the field, and displayed it. The enemy, thinking the main body of the Ameer's army must be about it, refrained from further pursuit. The Ameer remained

(1) The Ameer's army was routed and disappeared entirely from the field. No standard elephant was seen by the victors, but the length of the preceding march precluded a very active pursuit, and General Smith encamped on the field of battle.

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in sight of the enemy for four hours afterwards, and then moved to Ruthur, (1) and on afterwards to Astpoor, (2) which he plundered. At midnight he continued his march to Thakoordwara, (3) and Kasheepoor, and Tanda, and so returned to Moradabad. The march, in consequence of windings through hills and ravines, was seventy kos on that day. Halting for the night, he marched next morning three kos to Sumbhul, (4) and Suraee Tureena, (5) his birth place. He arrived there at about 8 or 4 P. M., and gave audience to all the principal people of the neighbourhood, making presents to each according to his rank and deserts, and taking precautions for their security, and for the protection of the country from pillage. The Ameer had ordered his main body, which was encamped at Ferozpoor, to march on Chundousee, (6) and he started next morning, after prayers, to meet them. He staid there two or three days to realize a contribution, and he wrote from thence to the Mooftee at Burelee, with whom he had some previous acquaintance, to make ready for his reception. General Smith hearing of this, came with his army from Moradabad, and took post between Chundousee and Burelee. Some hurkaras now brought the Ameer intelligence, that Skinner, (7) the Furingee, was at Sum-

(1) رتهر (2) استپور (3) تهاکرد وارہ

(4) سنبهل (5) ترینہ سرای (6) چندوسي

(7) This was Lieutenant Robert Skinner, the younger brother of the present Lieutenant-Colonel James Skinner, C. B. He had with him only three hundred horse unprovided with any thing, but what they carried, yet he held out against Ameer Khan for two entire days, repulsing all attacks, which were frequent. The Ameer further endeavoured to win over the Suwars by an offer of six months' pay if they would give up their Commanding Officer, but they were faithful, and spurned the offer. Captain James Skinner wrote from General Smith's camp, promising immediate succour, and this letter being intercepted as was intended, led the Ameer to decamp hastily. This occurred on the 8th March, 1805.

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bhul, with two thousand horse, he immediately gave up his plan of marching on Burelee, and went to Uleepoor,(1) which is three kos from Sumbhul. Skinner alarmed at his approach, took post in a Karuwan-Suraee and garden of Nuthee Khan, (2) which was walled round. The Ameer having sent for carts out of the village, was preparing to storm under their cover, and to put the enemy to the sword. But Skinner fearing that he would be overpowered, sent a message, to the effect that there was nothing to be gained by slaughtering him and his men, that this would be no victory, but on the contrary, his men were Afghans, like the Ameer himself, whose death would do him no credit or service. Ula-oo-deen Moolvee(3) also, who was an intimate friend of the Ameer's, dissuaded him from forcing the party to extremity, and entreated him to spare them for the sake of God. The Ameer, therefore, marched away, and left them, encamping next about two kos from Amroha. Here the Pindaras, who were with the Ameer, and were much dissatisfied at the restraint put on their plunderings, went off in displeasure towards the Dooab, but being pursued and roughly handled by Captain Murray, rejoined the Ameer, bringing Murray at their heels with two thousand horse. The Ameer prepared for battle, but the English fearing to meet him in the field, took post behind a wall at Ibrahimpoor. (4) The Ameer not thinking it prudent to attempt to carry the position with his horse, and his reserves of infantry being away, prepared an attacking party of about five hundred foot soldiers, (5) when some

(1) علی پور (2) نتهي خان (3) میرمولوي علاوالدین
(4) ابراهیم پور

(5) This affair occurred near Amroha. Captain Murray, who was escorting treasure, was surrounded and took shelter in a village where he maintained himself all day. In the evening, Colonel Burn arrived

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Pindaras spread intelligence, that another party of English was advancing in the direction of Sumbhul; whereupon a panic fell on the Ameer's troops, and doffing shoes and stockings before they saw water, they took to immediate flight. The Ameer thus lost the opportunity of overpowering this detachment, and marched in the night to Chandpoor, where he encamped. In the morning, he halted to celebrate the Eed. General Smith, (1) the Furingee, who had been in pursuit of the Ameer with a considerable force, arrived the same day at Amroha, and plundered and dispersed from two to four hundred men of the Ameer's rear guard who were there. Captain Murray also joined the General. The Ameer was much vexed at the plunder of his rear guard, and in great rage, he addressed his men thus: "Do you now exert yourselves and make head against the enemy with the Pindaras, while I make a circuit of from two to four kos, and fall upon his rear, and then by a simultaneous attack we shall assuredly gain a great victory." The men promised this and the Ameer (2) marched off in the night to execute the movement. He went at ease in his palkee, and slept till he had reached about three kos from Amroha, where waking, he found there were with him only one hundred horse of Baqee Mohummud Khan's, Shahamut Khan's and some others; of the rest of his

from his position at the ford on the Ganges, and with this reinforcement the enemy were beaten off. Next day, Ameer Khan happening to be moving on a route close by Amroha, was attacked by Captain Murray, and lost his baggage. He re-crossed the Ganges on the following day—viz. the 12th March, 1805, the Ghat being left unguarded.

(1) This is the first occasion where General Smith is rightly named. He is always called Scott, when before mentioned in this Chapter. Captain Skinner with his corps, overtook the rear guard and made prize of all the Ameer's Bazar.

(2) This will at once be seen to be pure romance and gasconade. The Ameer's force was entirely dispersed, and he made off from the neighbourhood of Amroha with very few followers, thinking of nothing but flight and escape.

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troops, not a man was to be seen. He concluded that they were either shy of any encounter with the English, or had gone off to their homes with the plunder they had realized. While he was speculating on the causes of this desertion, the English army moved out in line from Amroha, as if prepared for a severe action, in consequence of the Ameer in person being there. He, however, made off, having so few followers, and crossing the Ganges at the same Ghat that had given him entrance into Rohilkhund, he went again to Pricheetgurh, having marched, in consequence of the windings of the road, seventy kos that day. Thence he moved by Hapoor (1) to Kumona, where he halted a day, and had an interview with Doondee Khan, (2) the Zumeendar. Here he mustered his men and found there were barely one thousand present. Considering it to be impossible to do any thing worthy of his name with so small a body, he determined that it was his best policy to keep the enemy continually on the move, and wear him out in vain pursuits, flying before him after the Mahratta fashion. He, accordingly, proposed the scheme to his men, particularly to Fyzoollah Khan Bungush, (3) Umur Khan Afreedee, (4) Jumsheed Khan, (5) Moonuwur Khan (6) and Abdoollah Khan, his old companions, asking their advice. Fyzoollah Khan Bungush, wanting spirit himself for the enterprise, persuaded them all, separately and in secret, that if they fell into the plan not one would be left alive. That being so few as they were, they would be sure to be all slaughtered in the first encounter with the English. The men were thus won over to set their face against the plan, and

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(1) هاپور (2) دوندیخان (3) فیض‌الله خان بنگش
(4) عمر خان افریدي (5) جمشید خان (6) منور خان

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made excuses, saying, "We few are left as your companions—is it your wish that we too should meet our death, for what can be done by so few as we now are? We recommend your immediately making the best of your way back to Bhurtpoor." The Ameer replied, "Victory and defeat do not depend on numbers, but are the gift of God, and though we are certainly too few to enter into battle with the English, and I am not fool enough to propose such a scheme, still believing myself to be skilled in the Mahratta and Cossack (Kuzaq) style of war, I flatter myself that with even this small party I should worry and reduce the enemy to straights, and wear him out with long and fruitless marches, while I plundered the whole of his country. But if you are averse to the fatigues and risks of this species of warfare, and desire to return to Bhurtpoor, I would have you to consider where the funds for your support are to come from. You will be mutinying and sitting Dhurna there on me for your pay." Fyzoollah Khan said thereupon, "Rely upon it that while Bhurtpoor lasts no one will trouble you with mutinous demands for pay. Take from us all an engagement under seal to this effect." The Ameer gave way upon this, and took an engagement under the seal of each of the Chiefs, and then marched to Juwar, and again to a spot distant one kos from Muhabun. A Dawk Hurkara here brought him word that hearing of his coming, there were two battalions and four regiments of English cavalry waiting for him at the other side of the ford. As the Ameer had come a long march, he was reduced to great perplexity by this intelligence, (1) and took a road along the river for the purpose of looking out for another

(1) There is no account of any rencounter of the Ameer with a British detachment or convoy after he had re-crossed the Ganges. These British divisions must have been conjured up by his fears.

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ford over the Jumna. His march of that day was sixty kos, and he was only a kos from the Ghat, when a cloud of dust became visible on the horizon, and a Dawk Hurkara whispered in his ear that the dust was raised by a convoy of provisions on its way to Bhurtpoor from Agra, under the escort of four battalions and two thousand horse. The Ameer thought it would be imprudent to make this known at once to his men. So he addressed them thus—"Do any of you know what occasions that dust to rise to the sky?" They all said, "God only knows." The Ameer, thereupon, said, "It will most likely be the people of Muthra running off in fright, and they must have much booty with them. If you have the spirit left, and will fall quickly upon them, there will be something worth having." They were all delighted and assented to the enterprise. The Ameer had gone but a little way, when some men of the Huthrus Raja, viz. a battalion and about five hundred Suwars, who were on duty to guard the ghats and fords on the Dooab side of the Jumna, made their appearance. At sight of the Ameer the cavalry made off incontinently, and the infantry who were cooking, were overpowered and dispersed, and took to flight. The Ameer lost no time in crossing the river, and there found the English battalions and horse armed and ready for action, but on march. The men with the Ameer, at seeing this, lost heart entirely. But he endeavoured to restore them to confidence by telling them that if any attempted to fly it would be certain death, that their only chance was to allow himself to skirmish with the enemy, while they made their way through the ravines towards Futehpoor Seekree. They did so, and the Ameer kept up a long skirmish with the enemy, keeping him in play, until his own rear-guard and followers had all got by, and were well on the road

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to Futehpoor—he then himself retired thither, and made three or four halts. Muharaj Holkur hearing of the Ameer's arrival at Futehpoor, came out to see him, and passed the night in his camp. Next morning both went into Bhurtpoor together. The Ameer now learned that while he was away on the expedition above recounted, there were many affairs between the Muharaj and General Lake, and likewise with General Jones, who had brought the Bombay force through Malwa, to support the General. This officer having examined the wall of Bhurtpoor, advised General Lake (1) to try another storm, observing that he had now been a long time before the place, and yet it held out. The other members of the General's Council of War advised the same, and a general assault was determined upon. The plan was for General Lake to attack openly the Anar Gate to the south-west, which was opposite his camp, while General Jones should creep up through some Jhao-jungul towards the Kudum Khundee (2) Gate on the east side, and there make his attack. It was presumed that the besieged finding full employment in resisting the storm from the west, would be negligent on the opposite side of the place, so that Jones, with his troops, would obtain an easy entrance.

The attack was made accordingly on both sides at once. But Raja Runjeet Singh having penetrated the design

(1) General Jones joined Lord Lake on the 10th February. He had two European regiments and four Native infantry battalions, with only six hundred horse. The approaches being now carried to within three hundred yards, and the breaches appearing to be practicable, preparation for a third storm was made on the 20th February. The ditch was again found to present an insurmountable obstacle, and the storming party was beaten back. A fourth storm was tried on the following day with no better success, and with even greater loss of men and officers.

(2) كدم كهندي

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of the English, was prepared on all sides. The guns at top of the bastions and along the ramparts were loaded with chain shot, and at the foot of the wall outside the ditch, on the glacis, the artillery of Holkur's brigades were planted, loaded with grape, and thus the besieged waited to receive the storm. As the enemy came on, the guns opened upon them from above and below, and a vast number of Europeans and Sepoys who endeavoured to ascend the ditch and scale the wall, were cut to pieces by the chain shot and grape. Many English and their officers who still attempted to advance, were destroyed by this fire, nevertheless they persevered in their efforts to enter the place. The storming party from General Lake's camp, though they evinced extraodinary bravery, and ascended the inner face of the ditch in spite of the above fire, could get no further, but were thence driven back by musquetry into the ditch, and at last giving up their high hopes, they were glad enough to escape with life. General Jones's storming party was, for the most part, destroyed before it reached the ditch by the fire of chain shot and grape from the ramparts, and so being broken and dispersed on the glacis, they fled by the same road through the Jhao-jungul by which they had advanced. Muharaj Holkur was at this time with his light troops prepared for action in a garden near the Kudum Khundee Gate, where he had come to meet the Raja. Seeing this opportunity, he fell on the retiring parties of General Jones's army as they fled through the Jhao-jungul, where they could not form line or avail themselves of their tactics, and so they were further broken and dispersed: many of the enemy were slaughtered by the swords and spears of Holkur's men, and he returned into camp elate with the victory. The men of his brigades took

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the same opportunity to storm one of the English batteries, and captured and brought away three or four guns which the enemy had neglected to defend properly. These they dragged into their own lines. But after the general assault was over, an English Commandant of Artillery, watching his opportunity when the men in Holkur's battery were cooking, made an attack on them and carried the battery, recovering his own guns, and capturing all the Muharaj's that were there besides.

Matters continued in this state for some days, and the Muharaj and Raja Runjeet Singh were busy negociating with Dowlut Rao Sindheea, whose demand for assistance in money was acceded to, and a treaty of alliance was on the point of being concluded with him, when the English, (1) taking great alarm at the prospect of such an event, held a general council, wherein it was resolved that as the Ameer was at the time exciting great trouble in Kuther, (Rohilkhund) and it was vain for the English army to attempt to follow him, it was better to come to terms with the Bhurtpoor Raja, and so have the army now employed in the siege, available for the general defence of the British territory in case of accidents. Keeping this design secret, they opened a private negociation with the Raja, who was reduced to great straights by the expence he was put to in supporting Muharaj Holkur's army, not to mention the utter ruin his own country was suffering during the siege. He saw that there was little to be gained by the continuance of such a state of things as the present, with large payments still to be made to the Muharaj and to the Ameer, and further, that if

(1) Lord Lake never held any Council of War or Peace, and assuredly was influenced by no anxiety about the Ameer and his operations.

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Doulut Rao Sindheea were engaged in the war, it would then be too late to retrace his steps. Accordingly, he listened to the overtures(1) made to him, and received back Deeg from General Lake, giving a sum of money for its recovery. On these terms a treaty was concluded, in which stipulations were entered, binding the Raja not to hold intercourse with, or give protection to either Doulut Rao Sindheea or Muharaj Holkur. After which, General Lake moved his army to a distance of nine kos from Bhurtpoor towards Muthra.

It was just at this time that the Ameer(2) came back from Rohilkhund. Muharaj Holkur knew nothing of the treaty concluded by the Bhurtpoor Raja with the English: accordingly, General Lake thinking the time favorable, attacked his camp by night, but the Ameer brought him timely succour, and repelled the assault.

At the request of Raja Runjeet Singh, who still kept the secret of his treaty with the English from both the Muharaj and the Ameer, the latter was sent with Holkur's concurrence to Subulgurh,(3) to expedite arrangements

(1) The Raja of Bhurtpoor made the first overture for peace by sending a letter of congratulation and a Vakeel upon the announcement of General Lake's advance to the Peerage. On the 10th March, 1805, the Raja's Vakeels were publicly received, and negociations commenced. The treaty was concluded with the Raja on the 17th April, and ratified by the Governor General on the 4th May, 1805.

(2) The Ameer reached Futehpoor Seekree on the 21st March, and General Smith rejoined Lord Lake's army on the 23d, after an absence of six weeks. On the 29th, a night attack was planned against Holkur, but he had timely notice, and moved to a greater distance. On the 2d April, Lord Lake marched again with his cavalry at one in the morning, and came upon Juswunt Rao's camp before day break, when it was dispersed and much baggage taken. A battalion of the Ameer's surrendered prisoners of war on the same day. On the 31st March, a detachment, under Captain Royle, fell in with the cavalry of Hurnath Chela, and on the 7th April following, destroyed the remainder of Holkur's infantry and artillery at Udalutnugur towards Dholpoor Baree.

(3) سبلگڈھ

for bringing up Doulut Rao Sindheea. After his departure, and when Surjee Rao Ghatkeea, (4) Doulut Rao's father-in-law had arrived near to Bhurtpoor, the Raja finding it impossible to keep his secret longer, made it known to Juswunt Rao Holkur, telling him, that he had made his terms some time before with the English, though he only then disclosed the fact. He advised the Muharaj, therefore, if he had any regard for his own safety, to move away from the neighbourhood, declaring his own inability to advance more funds. The colour left the Muharaj's face when he heard this, and he immediately made arrangements for leaving Bhurtpoor, and joining the Ameer at Subulgurh. General Lake, however, hearing of his design, advanced to cut him off from Subulgurh. But as it happened, the General's army fell in with some of Surjee Rao Ghatkeea's Pindaras, and followed them for an entire stage, which afforded the Maharaj an opportunity of slipping through with his light troops. The brigades and the rest of his army joined afterwards. Bukhshee Bhooanee Sunkur, (5) Moorteza Khan Bungush, (6) Buhadoor Khan, (7) and some other Sirdars deserted the cause of Holkur at this time, and made their terms with General Lake.

The Ameer who was already at Subulgurh, and had had an interview with Sindheea, and who had waited there pending these events, was now reunited with the Muharaj.

The above events occurred in the Hejira year 1221. (8)

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(1) سرجي راو گهاٹکيه (2) بخشي بهواني سنکر

(3) مرتضي خان بنگش (4) بهادر خان

(5) 21st March, 1806 to 10th March, 1807, still a year in advance. April, 1805, being the latest date of any of the events here related.

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BOOK THE SIXTH.

CHAPTER III.

A. D. 1805.

May to November.

The Ameer and Muharaj Holkur at Subulgurh—Their meeting with Sindheea, and consultation as to the raising of funds—Determination to seize Ambajee Inglia, in order to extort money from him—Sindheea is reconciled to the English through Inglia, and shakes off his connexion with Holkur and the Ameer.

WHEN the Muharaj came to Subulgurh, he advised with the Ameer, who had arrived there before him, and the result of their consultation was a message to Doulut Rao Sindheea, to this effect, that without money the army could no longer be kept together, and the war with the English must be given up, that if he could devise a means of providing funds, there was yet no reason to despair, and the troops might be kept contented, but money was a sine quâ non, and though jewels of value were not wanting, there was no raising money upon them, and no sale for such things at the present time. Doulut Rao observed—I too have jewels enough, but there is no use in them

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for present purposes, and Ambajee Inglia, who professes to be my servant, and has lakhs of rupees in ready money by him, will give no aid. If you can contrive a way of extracting money from him by cunning, you have my permission, but the half of what may be so obtained must belong to me. Holkur observed upon this, that the Ameer was the person to manage the affair with Inglia, as he was held in greater awe by that Chief than either of the Mahrattas. Sindheea agreed to this proposition, and gave to the Ameer intimation of his wishes. The Ameer, therefore, had a private audience with Inglia, and told him in plain terms, that he must come down with some present aid of money to the cause. He used every means of persuasion in his power, and fixed his lowest demand at ten lakhs of rupees. Inglia, however, could not be brought to hear of the proposition, and flatly refused to give any pecuniary aid. The Ameer then offered that he should have jewels from both Sindheea and Holkur in pawn for the advance, but even in this shape the proposition was not acceded to, and he still made excuses. The Ameer accordingly reported the ill success of his negociation to Muharaj Holkur, who thereupon employed Bala Rao, Ambajee's brother, to endeavour to bring him round, but his success was no better. The Ameer now observed to the Maharaj, "Perhaps with a little more of threat, and something of violence, the money desired might be forthcoming." The Muharaj assented, and the Ameer went again to Inglia, who at first gave the same answer as before, whereupon the Ameer seizing him by the hand said, "If you have absolutely nothing to offer, come and sit in my tent." The bird of sense flew from its nest in the brain of Inglia at hearing this, and he remained silent. The Ameer led him by the hand to his own

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tent, and there for three or four days employed various means of persuasion. Inglia's alarms being greatly excited, he sent to Muharaj Holkur to beg that he would send for him, promising to do any thing he desired if he would do so. Juswunt Rao accordingly sent for him, and fixed his demand at seventy-five lakhs, as due, on account, to Doulut Rao, and five lakhs for his own Nuzurana, or bonus. Ten or twelve lakhs were realized upon the nail, and for the rest promises and engagements were offered. Muharaj Holkur said, that was not his way of doing business: he could not remit one farthing of the demand, and if the whole amount were not paid by next day, he should be compelled to hand Ambajee again over to the Ameer. At the very name of the Ameer every hair of Inglia's body stood an end, and he said that if allowed to go to Kotah, he would find means to raise money. The Muharaj consented to this, and after counselling with Doulut Rao Sindheea, the Ameer and Bapoo Sindheea were sent off with Inglia in charge to Kotah, under the escort of a body of horse and one or two battalions of infantry. Having arrived there, Inglia broke up one of his hoards, (1) and paid nearly half of the demand upon him. It so happened that the Pindaras were at this time very troublesome in Kotah, and the Raj-Rana to get quit of them, made an advance to the Ameer as the price of his services, and so employed him against them. He, in a very

(1) Fifty-five lakhs of rupees are said, by Colonel Tod, who was at the time in Doulut Rao's camp, to have been extorted from Ambajee. Amongst other tortures to which he was subjected, oiled tow was fastened to his fingers and lighted. He attempted suicide to free himself from his sufferings, but the instrument, an English penknife, was not efficacious in his hands: the Surgeon of the British Residency sowed up the wound, and he recovered. He was restored to favor soon after—and, notwithstanding the indignities and severities he had suffered, continued for three years to guide the councils of Doulut Rao's Durbar. He died in 1809.

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short time, cleared the country of these marauders, and returned to Kotah.

Muharaj Holkur (1) having secured his share of what had been extorted from Inglia, and finding it burthensome to keep his army long halted at the same place, having moreover completed his engagements with Doulut Rao Sindheea for an alliance, offensive and defensive against the English, crossed the mountains to Mandelgurh (2) in Mewar, in company with Sindheea. Inglia, who was the most cunning man of his day, made secretly his peace with Doulut Rao, causing it to be represented to him that he was in fact his servant, and if he had taken the matter into his own hands, it might have been brought to an issue that would have satisfied him, but thus to hand him over to strangers, to be disgraced and ill-treated, was not the act of a kind master; that his fidelity, however, was proof even against this trial, and that he could yet do his master good service in settling matters with the English: finally he offered all that belonged to him to Sindheea, and said that Holkur was empty-handed, and of difficult temper, and had so committed himself with the English, that it was unwise for Doulut Rao to make common cause with him: that being, as he Doulut Rao was, the head of an old house, and a Chief of such high rank and reputation, he risked the loss of dominion, and of all that had been built up for so many years in case of a reverse, whereas Juswunt Rao Holkur

(1) Holkur and Sindheea fled from Subulgurh towards Kotah upon Lord Lake's approach, and his Lordship met near Dholpoor Baree Colonel Martindell, who had followed Doulut Rao Sindheea's march northwards, by a parallel movement from Bundelkhund.

(2) ماندل گڈھ

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was nothing of the kind, and had no such stake at hazard. Doulut Rao was won over by this specious reasoning and becoming estranged from Muharaj Holkur, began to act upon Inglia's views of policy. Accordingly, he broke off from the treaty of offensive and defensive alliance against the English, and made a demand upon Holkur for the release of Inglia. Muharaj Holkur, who was at the time in the Shahpoora territory, wrote for answer that he could not dispense with the share of the money so to be raised, which had been allotted to himself—and therefore could not release Inglia till it was paid. The result was that Sindheea paid up the share due to Juswunt Rao, and so procured Inglia's release. Doulut Rao also discharged Mookhtar-ood-Doula Mohummud Shah Khan, the Ameer's officer, whom, with his brigades, he had taken into service, and employed for some time in making collections in Malwa. He further entered into a treaty, through Inglia, (1) with General Lake, who having broken up from before Bhurtpoor, was himself with his main army about Muthra, while General Jones was cantoned at Tonk and Rampoora. Through this channel a fresh treaty was soon concluded, and Baqee Mohummud Khan, Ruhmut Khan, and some other Rusaladars of the Ameer, were won over to leave his service. The Ameer was sent by Muharaj Holkur from Kota towards Mandulgurh, to wait upon Sindheea, whose secret treaty with the English had not transpired. Doulut Rao accordingly

(1) After the march to Dholpoor Baree, the season being much advanced, General Lake made arrangements for cantoning his army. General Jones, with the Bombay troops, was thrown forward and stationed at Rampoora and Tonk. Colonel Ball, with a brigade, was placed at Rewaree, and Colonel Martindell at Gohud. The main army was cantoned about Agra and Muthra, with a reserve in the northern part of the Doosb, about Suharunpoor. Negociations were opened with Sindheea in September, and a new treaty was concluded with him on the 22d November, 1805.

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amused the Ameer for a few days, and then gave him his dismissal. The Ameer, however, had the acuteness to discover how matters stood, and at Shahpoora explained the whole system of deception to Muharaj Holkur, and then accompanied him to Ajmeer, where both Chiefs remained for some time. In this state of things, Vakeels came to them from the Sikhs about Lahor, (1) such as Saheb Singh of Puteeala, (2) Runjeet Singh who held Lahor city and several others, inviting both Chiefs to enter into engagements with them, and freely promising, that if they came into that country, they should be well received, and all would make common cause against the general enemy. It seemed to the Ameer, that this invitation ought, by all means, to be acted upon, and he advised their retiring into the Punjab.

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(1) سکھان علاقہ لاھور (2) صاحب سنگھ راجہ پٹیالہ

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BOOK THE SIXTH.

CHAPTER IV.

A. D. 1805—1806.

October to April.

Muharaj Holkur and the Ameer move to Umritsir—Proceedings at Puteeala—Transactions with Runjeet Singh—Peace concluded by Holkur with the English—The Ameer abandons the Muharaj, but is brought to agree—Proceedings afterwards.

MUHARAJ HOLKUR, approving and acting upon the Ameer's advice, determined on moving to the Sikh country as the best plan he could adopt under circumstances. Both Chiefs marched acordingly with all their infantry and horse from Ajmeer. The forces of the Ameer had been augmented, by the brigade of Mohummud Shah Khan, recently dismissed by Doulut Rao Sindheea, as stated above. This brigade the Ameer left at Seronj to make collections and support itself in that neighbourhood. The Muharaj moved by Sambhur, Kho-Kundela and Narnol, (1) into Hureeana, (2) and after levying

(1) سانبهر—کهوکهند یله—نارنول (2) هریانه—هانسي

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contributions at Hansee and Hisar, (1) arrived at Puteeala, where he had an interview with Raja Saheb Singh. The Raja and his wife were on ill terms, and contending at the time for objects of wordly ambition. The wife, in the name of her infant son Kurum Singh, (2) was intriguing to remove the Raja from all authority, and expel him the country. Muharaj Holkur, after informing himself of the state of things, and consulting with the Ameer, said to him, "God most assuredly has sent us these two pigeons to pluck; let us not throw away the advantage to be made of them. You shall espouse the cause of one, while I take up the other, and so we will play them off against each other, and make both serviceable to our purposes." Muharaj Holkur accordingly took up Raja Saheb Singh, and the Ameer the wife, each receiving a considerable sum in remuneration for services in aid of the cause he espoused, and so, between the two, the object was effected.

While they were thus employed, General Lake arrived at Kurnal, (3) whereupon the Maharaj and the Ameer having extracted all the money they could, patched up a reconciliation beween the Raja and his wife, and marched from Puteeala with the intention of crossing the Sutluj, (4) and uniting forces with Runjeet Singh and other Sikhs, so as to get together an army capable of meeting the English in the field. If the Sikhs showed a disinclination to make common cause with them, it was intended to

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(1) حصار (2) کرم سنگھ

(3) Lord Lake's army reached Kurnal on the 20th November 1805, and Loodheeana on the 2nd December.

(4) ستلج

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proceed on to Kabool, (1) and through Shooja-ool-Moolk, to obtain the means of taking full revenge on the enemy. Levying in the way contributions, wherever they could—the two Chiefs crossed the Sutluj, and also the Dooab between that river and the Beah. Shahid Khan (2) had been sent on by Juswunt Rao in advance to Umritsir, (3) to negociate with Runjeet Singh and the other influential Sikhs. He had gained many of these, and wrote to Muharaj Holkur, that the majority were in his favor, but he experienced some difficulty with Runjeet Singh, whose objections however he hoped to overcome. The Muharaj upon this sent Bhao Bhaskur, a cunning diplomatist, who was high in his confidence, to Runjeet Singh, and then crossed the Beah, (4) with the Ameer, in pursuance of the design of passing into Kabool by the route of Atuk. (5) The Muharaj's anxiety as to the future was now at its height, when the Bhao wrote that he had gained Runjeet Singh, and forwarded a letter from that Chief, confirming the intelligence. The Muharaj and the Ameer were restored to confidence by this news and moved on to Umritsir. When they arrived near that place, Runjeet Singh came out two or three kos to meet them, and conducted them into the city, near which they encamped. Here they staid a month and a half; but as there was much distress for funds, the Ameer and the Muharaj began to be in great anxiety of mind on that account. Both men and horses were for some time subsisted upon sugar-cane which grows in abundance in those parts. At last Runjeet Singh promised Juswunt Rao, that if he would reduce for him the people of Kasoor, (6) who had

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(1) کابل شجاع الملک (2) شاهد خان (3) امرت سر

(4) بیاہ (5) اٹک (6) قاصور

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heretefore paid revenue, but now refused obedience, and would put him in possession of the place, he would make an advance of funds and unite interests with him. The Muharaj agreed at once. On hearing of it, the Kasoorees being Moosulmans, were seized with great alarm, and applied to the Ameer to save their honor and faith, for the sake of the recompense the true God would give to him, who might protect his people from the hands of infidels. The Ameer calling to mind the Text "*Every true believer is as a brother,*" promised them his protection, and made interest in their favor with the Muharaj. He replied, "We have both of us come into Runjeet Singh's country to seek his aid and alliance. We are not to be questioning the propriety of his schemes." The Ameer said upon this, "Very good—but, happen what may, I join with the Kasoorees—do you as you please." After much altercation on this point, it ended in the Ameer's moving out from Umritsir towards Kasoor, which is but a short stage from the city, and encamping near it. The Muharaj seeing that the Ameer was serious, went and told Runjeet Singh, it would be better for his interest to leave the Kasoorees alone just at present, for that the Ameer was determined to join them. Hereafter he might find a fitter opportunity. Runjeet Singh was obliged to assent, and the Muharaj then persuaded the Ameer to rejoin him.

In the mean time General Lake advancing from Kurnal came to Puteeala, and thence to the Sutluj, where he encamped under a fort. Leaving his baggage with a rear guard there, he marched again with his army, lightly equipped, to Suwaee Julundur. (1) The Council at

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(1) سواي جلندر

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Calcutta had written to urge the General to offer terms, and bring the war to an end as soon as possible. And the General was himself sensible that, if Runjeet Singh with the Puteeala Chief and other Sirdars of this country, were to make common cause with the Muharaj, a new flame would be lighted up, which it would be difficult to extinguish. He accordingly determined to follow his instructions in this respect, and with that view looked out for an intelligent skilful negociator to be sent to Holkur's camp, and to be made the channel for an overture, in such guise that the Muharaj should be brought to sue for peace, and negociations commence on that basis, and so, in the end, the dirt of mutual hatred and hostility being washed away, and the dust of war and devastation laid, that the looking-glass of friendship and cordiality might be brought to show the reflection of a firm alliance and reconciliation. The General made choice of a Shekh (1) for this task, and dispatched him to the Muharaj's camp. He came first to the Ameer, and was introduced, on the pretence of seeking employ from him, and was entertained accordingly. After a week or ten days, he represented that he had a brother in the English service, who had written that, if the Muharaj and the Ameer pleased, there was an opening for the re-establishment of peace, and negociations for the purpose might be commenced. The Ameer said upon this, "I gather from what you say, that you have come from the English, commissioned for this purpose, and that your seeking employ with me is a mere pretence: you had better go about your business—I

(1) Sheikh Mukdoom Ulee is presumed to be the person referred to, but that he had commission or instructions of the kind stated is impossible.

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wish to have nothing to say to you." The Shekh accordingly left the Ameer's camp, and commenced his intrigues through Balaram Seth, (1) a companion and confidential adviser of the Muharaj. The result was, that the Muharaj became very desirous for peace. General Lake was informed of this by the Shekh, and conceived hopes, and felt great joy in consequence. Through Hursookh Raee, (2) his treasurer, who was of the same caste, and on terms of friendship with Balaram Seth, he caused a letter to be written to the latter, expressive of a strong desire for peace, and a wish that the Seth might be sent to confer on the subject, pledging himself, that if he came, all matters at issue would soon be arranged to satisfaction. Bala Ram showed the letter he received to Muharaj Holkur, and explained how the matter stood. The Muharaj attaching great importance to the communication, came to the Ameer to sound him on the subject, and commenced thus, beating about the bush. That amongst all the Chiefs of the day, there was none now with whom he could unite, with any hope of making head against the English. As for Runjeet Singh, he had not the means of keeping their army together by furnishing the requisite funds, and he was himself ill enough off in that respect, while to bring Shooja-ool-Moolk from Kabool, would require a vast outlay. He should be glad therefore to hear what the Ameer proposed for a present remedy. The Ameer replied, "At all events we have no immediate cause for alarm, for even if Runjeet Singh throws us off, we can retire upon Kabool, where I will engage to win over Shah Shooja to our interest." The Muharaj replied, "The King of Kabool will not

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(1) بالا رام سیٹھ (2) هرسکھه راي

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move without money, and you know how we stand for that." The Ameer then said, "Give me jewels to the value of ten or fifteen lakhs of those you have with you, that will be enough to win the King of Kabool. We will promise so many more lakhs when his army reaches Delhi, and again more when it gets to Lukhnou, where we shall be well able to raise the sums required if we succeed, and in this way we will drive the English out of Hindostan. If again the King of Kabool will not stir, let me but once get to the country on the further side the Atuk, where there are hundreds of thousands of Afghans of the same race with myself, forming the different tribes of Yoosufzyes—with these will I join and meet the enemy, and may I never rest from the pursuit of this object, until the vision of my hopes shall be seated on the throne of accomplishment. Be my head on the issue: I shall not relinquish my purpose though it be the sacrifice." The Muharaj seeing the Ameer's determination, which was quite contrary to his own views, kept his secret, and said, cunningly, "You ought not to go to Kabool without at least one or two thousand horse, and there will be money wanted to equip them properly for such an expedition. To raise the funds, therefore, I will send Balaram Seth with some of my jewels to Madoon, near Kot Kangra,(1) where there are jewel merchants and other purchasers in plenty. When we learn the issue, we will consult further." The Ameer did not see the deceit of this proposition, but believed it to be made in sincerity, and returned to his tent. The Muharaj then consulted with Chimna Bhao(2) and other confidential men of his party, telling them his brother, meaning the Ameer, was averse to any recon-

(1) مادون متصل کوٹ کانگڑہ (2) چمنا بھاو

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ciliation with the English, and bent on seeking aid from Kabool. They all said, "The Ameer has not your interest at heart in this scheme. Supposing him to bring the Afghans and the people of Kabool, of his own race and religion, and with their aid to get the better of the English, what will he care for your house and dignity?" The Muharaj, upon this, managing the matter with great cunning, sent off Balaram Seth on some pretence to Hursookh Raee, General Lake's treasurer, and through these persons, negociations were entered into, and the terms of a treaty of peace settled—so much so, that the Seth brought back an engagement under General Lake's signature, to the effect that all Muhals or possessions of the Holkur family, on the further side of the Chumbul, should remain to it as before, and the country on the Hindoostan side, with the Dukhun, and the tributes of Rajisthan, (1) that is Jypoor and Joudhpoor, &c. should belong to the British Government. The Muharaj looked upon these terms as a God-send, and his agent, who was well acquainted with his inclinations and wishes, brought the paper with exultation, and explained the state of things. The Muharaj, who was bent on peace, and worn out with the fatigues and anxieties of the war, was highly delighted; but, reflecting that the matter could not be completed without the secret transpiring, nor properly without the Ameer's signature being to the treaty, he sent for Raee Himmut Raee, a confidential adviser of his, and to him lifted the veil by which his designs had been hitherto concealed. He told the Raee to explain to his brother, meaning the Ameer, how the thing stood, and more especially, that he had been induced to act as he had done, and to conclude a peace without making the

(1) معاملہ راجستان

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Ameer party to his plans, because he despaired of effecting the purposes they jointly had in view, or of restoring their affairs either through Runjeet Singh, or the King of Kabool. He then told the Raee to exert himself to bring the Ameer round to the same way of thinking. The Raee came to the Ameer, and reported every thing that had occurred. The wrath of the Ameer was at first kindled, and he boiled with rage, and answered in great anger—"If it be the Muharaj's pleasure to act thus, there is nothing left for me but to trust to God, and proceed alone with my separate troops to Kabool, where having won over the Chiefs of influence, and every man capable of bearing arms, for all these are staunch Moosulmans, I will submit my request to the King."

(1) VERSE.

When Holkur with the British made his peace,
Th' Ameer resolved his fellowship should cease—
He called his warriors to the Council Board,
And told his plan, when, all, with one accord,
Declared for Kabool, there the King to sue
For succour, such as erst the Mooslims drew,
When Ahmed Shah destroyed the vain Hindoo.
If the King's royal self the war declined,
The spark lay ready in each Afghan's mind,
That kindled into flame their ranks would man
To fight the fight of faith in Hindoostan.
The scheme explained wild acclamation spread,
All vowed to follow where the Ameer led,
The bravest Chiefs from Holkur's sep'rate line
Claimed, life or death, to share the bold design,

(1) These verses are more than ordinary prosaic. The Author, however, dwells on this Kabool scheme as a popular theme amongst the Mahomedans of India: and endeavours to explain away the peace made with the English, as a yielding to circumstances unavoidable in the Ameer's position, though quite contrary to his own judgment and inclinations, and derogatory to his character of Champion of the Faith.

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Th' Ameer has marched on separation bent,
Five kos from Holkur he has pitched his tent.

Muharaj Holkur seeing himself deserted by the Ameer and by his own principal officers, such as Wajid Khan,(1) Meer Sudur-oo-Deen, Khoda Buksh,(2) and other Rusaladars, who sided with the Ameer, was greatly troubled. By a singular coincidence, Mr. Metcalfe came the same day into the camp of the Muharaj from General Lake, and learnt the desertion of the Ameer: whereupon he told the Muharaj, that his signing the treaty alone, without the Ameer,(3) would not satisfy the English, and there would be no peace unless that Chief's seal was also to the document. The bird of sense flew away from its nest in the Muharaj's brain at hearing this, but with admirable cunning and presence of mind he said, with a view to sound Mr. Metcâlfe, "The Ameer's quarrel is merely because he cannot bear that the tributes of Rajisthan, and the Dukhun should be assigned over to the English, for his army would not find the means of supporting itself without the resources of those countries. Let this matter only be arranged to satisfaction, and he will come into the terms, and set his seal to the Treaty." Mr. Metcalfe was induced by this declaration to consent to give up Rajisthan, and promised also for the Dukhun, at the end of a year. The Muharaj came then forthwith to the Ameer, and making excuses for his past conduct, entreated forgiveness and a reconciliation. The Ameer said, "Your conduct is not that of a brave and high-minded man. After raising the standard of ambition

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(1) واجد خان (2) میر صدر الدین-خدا بخش

(3) Mr. Metcalfe never made any such communication to Juswunt Rao Holkur, and considered Ameer Khan as one of his officers. The negociations were with the Muharaj only throughout.

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before the world thus to throw away your shield, is unbecoming and low-spirited." The Muharaj reproached himself and felt ashamed, and hung down his head, and having retired to privacy with the Ameer, (1) he joined his hands in entreaty, and said—"It is through you only that I have reached this high power and ascendancy in the world, and it is through yourself still that I must maintain that position. As you have hitherto raised and supported me, it is incumbent on you not to act towards me, so that all authority shall now slide away from me, and my enemies clap their hands in derision." The Ameer said, his soul could never get over its repugnance to join in the course adopted by the Muharaj. The Muharaj then laid his head at the Ameer's feet, and went to the extremity of abject adjuration, vowing that as long as he lived he would bind himself to fellowship with the Ameer without objecting to any thing that might be proposed,

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(1) The treaty with Juswunt Rao Holkur was settled on the 24th December, 1805. It consisted of nine Articles. Providing as follows:—

1st. For the cessation of hostilities on both sides.

2d. A renunciation by Juswunt Rao of all right and title to Tonk Rampoora, Boondee, Lalaheree, Sumedee, Bhumungaon, Daee, and other places north of the Boondee hills, and then occupied by the British.

3d. An engagement on the part of the British Government to have no concerns with the ancient possessions of the Holkur family in Mewar, Malwa, and Haraotee, nor with any Rajas south of the Chumbul. Also to deliver up to Juswunt Rao all ancient possessions of the Holkur family south of the Taptee, except Chandor, Ambar, and Seagam, and the villages and pergunnas south of the Godavuree, which were to remain with the British, but at the end of eighteen months would also be restored.

4th. Juswunt Rao renounces his claims on Koonch, but after two years, if satisfied with his conduct, the British Government would confer it in Jageer on his sister Beema Baee.

5th. Holkur renounces all claims whatsoever on the British Government and its allies.

6th. Juswunt Rao engages to entertain no Europeans.

7th. Also not to admit to his councils or service Surjee Rao Ghatkeea, who had been proclaimed an enemy to the British Government.

8th. Juswunt Rao may, on above conditions, return to Hindoostan, and the British Government will not interfere with his concerns. But he must, immediately after ratification, take a route that shall leave

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and that he should never forget the obligation, if the Ameer would but yield in this one instance. Then declaring, that envious men had been sowing the seeds of discontent to break their mutual friendship, and make foul the pure waters of the fountain of cordiality, he conjured the Ameer not to listen to treacherous advisers and whisperers of ill, but to be content to divide the crore and twenty lakhs of country which would be left to them. As an earnest of his good will, he promised immediately to put him in possession of thirty lakhs of the sixty, which would fall to his lot, so soon as he himself got it, whether in the Dukhun, or elsewhere. On hearing this proposition, Raee Himmut Raee, who was with the Ameer, said

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Puteeala, Khytul, Jheend, and the Jypoor territory on the left, and during his march his troops must abstain from plunder and hostilities.

9th. Provides for the ratification by Holkur in three days, and by the Governor General in one month.

The above Treaty was finally concluded and ratified by Juswunt Rao on the 5th January, 1806. On the 8th of that month, Mr. now Sir Charles Metcalfe, went to the camp of the Chief. He found that the report of peace having been concluded, was not credited there, until his visit confirmed it. He was received with much ceremony, and delivered a letter he brought from Lord Lake, and then enquired when Juswunt Rao proposed to march for Hindoostan, for Lord Lake had already broken ground from the banks of the Beah the day before. Juswunt Rao conferred a few minutes with Bhao Bhaskur, and named the 13th January for the day of commencing his march. He then endeavoured to procure favors for various Chiefs, and dismissed Mr. M. with earnest assurances of his resolution to adhere to the Treaty. Balaram waited on Mr. M. afterwards, and said that amongst the causes for delaying the march, was Ameer Khan's dissatisfaction with the portion of country asigned to him, but this he hoped might be got over. Mr. M. adds that *all* in the Mahratta camp appeared rejoiced at the peace. What is reported in the text as having occurred between Juswunt Rao and Mr. Metcalfe, in relation in particular to the Ameer, is pure romance. After the treaty of peace was so concluded and ratified, Sir George Barlow gratuitously gave back Tonk, Rampoora, and the places in that vicinity, in annulment of the second Article of the Treaty. Sir George seems to have been led to adopt this course by the conviction, that the territory in question could not be given to any other Chief or State without producing great soreness in Juswunt Rao, nor retained by such without our guarantee. The alteration of the engagement was made by attaching a declaratory article to the Governor General's ratification, which was affixed on the 5th February, 1806, Sir George being then on the river on his return to Calcutta from Ghazeepoor and Allahabad, whither he had gone on learning of Lord Cornwallis's being on the point of death.

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—"As the Muharaj is so earnest in his entreaties, and offers so liberally an equal division of territory, the Ameer should yield to him." The Ameer was thus won over not to withdraw from the Muharaj, and accordingly returned to his camp—and as General Lake refused to ratify the treaty, or to deem it conclusive unless the Ameer's seal was to it, the Muharaj earnestly begged of him to sign, but the Ameer would not do this on any account. He said he had gone so far, as to withdraw from opposition to the treaty of peace, merely out of regard for the Muharaj, and from a belief that this object, on which his heart was evidently set, would fail if he did not do so, but that he had not parted with his own high hopes, and looked for the aid of the Deity in their accomplishment. The Muharaj was silenced by this declaration, and he and the Ameer parted. The latter returning to his tent, sent for Raee Himmut Raee, and desired him to go immediately to the Muharaj, and take from him a list of the countries he proposed to assign to the Ameer agreeably to his promise. The Raee went to the Muharaj and brought back a statement wherein Tonk, and Perawa, (1) with the Jypoor, Kota, Oodeepoor, and other tributes were allotted to the Ameer, and the Muharaj having signed and delivered a deed to this effect, turned towards Mr. Metcalfe, and said, "By the blessing of God every thing is now settled between me and the Ameer, my seal, therefore, to the treaty ought to suffice. You may dismiss all apprehension of evil design on the Ameer's part. He is bound by what I approve, and will return with me towards Hindoostan. But let General Lake first march back, leaving me and the Ameer to follow in

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(1) تونک پراوہ

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the direction of our own territories. Mr. Metcalfe was thus satisfied, and the treaties (1) being ratified and exchanged, he was sent back. Whereupon General Lake returned towards Dehlee, and gave orders for the restoration of Tonk, Rampoora, and other places belonging to the Holkur family, which were held by the English. The Muharaj being thus assured of the General's sincerity, marched along with the Ameer by Julundhur into the Dooab between the Sutluj and Beas, and there gave discharges to most of his troops, telling them he had entertained them during the war with the English, in the hope of finding resources and funds for their support from pillage and contributions, but as this was no longer possible, now that peace was concluded, they should take their arrears to the day, and be discharged. He would then select those he might desire to retain, and the rest might return to their homes. The Sirdars were highly displeased with this proceeding, and were on the point of raising a tumult, but not thinking the time favorable, and being so far from their homes, they smothered their resentment, and the Muharaj and Ameer marched back together as far as Rohtuk, (2) situated to the west of Dehlee, in the Hureeana country. Here the discontent of the troops from the destruction of their hopes for the future, broke into open mutiny. Several of the Rusaladars, such as Ahmed Khan of Kripa Kanor, (3) Meer Mukhdoom of Hydrabad, (4) Wajid Khan, Khoda Buksh, Nuwab Jahan Khan, (5) and Sudur-ood-deen of

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(1) A. D. 1806—January.

(2) روهتک (3) احمد خان کرپا کانوروالہ

(4) میر مخدوم حیدرآبادي

(5) واجد خان—خدا بخش—نواب جہانخان

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Sarungpoor, (1) with Meer Murdan Ulee, (2) and some others, entered into a conspiracy, and getting the Muharaj into their power, sat Dhurna over him. All his efforts to pacify and talk them over were thrown away—they would listen to no persuasions or promises. The Muharaj being thus reduced to extremity planned an escape, and one night slitting the Kunat, or cloth-wall of the tent, he got out on some pretence, and mounting a horse he had contrived to have near, ready saddled, came off to the Ameer's camp. The servants brought the Ameer word, that the Muharaj was coming alone on horseback, whereupon he started up from his sleep, and went out to meet him, and asked what had happened. The Muharaj said, with tears starting from his eyes—"My troops have all conspired to ruin my house and fortunes, but I have contrived to slit the tent-wall, and to give them the slip. I rely upon you to restore matters with the troops as best you may, so as to preserve the house you have raised. Do not be unmindful now of the claims, I have on this score, to your good offices."

The Ameer said what he could to comfort and assure the Muharaj, and told him not to trouble himself further about the mutiny, as he would endeavour to bring the troops back to their duty. He accordingly sent immediately to the officers who had conspired, to tell them that the Muharaj was in his tents, that they need be uneasy no longer about their arrears, as he would settle every thing in the morning. This quieted them for the time, and next morning the Ameer went to the Muharaj's

(1) صدر الدین سارنگپوریه (2) میرمردان علي

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camp, and asked all the men what was their pleasure. They all replied, Let the Muharaj deliver up to us Gunput Rao Dewan, (1) and Khundee Rao, (2) Sewaee Mulhar Rao's son, as pledges for what is due to us: from the former, we shall be able to get our money, and we will keep the latter as a hostage till it is paid.

The Ameer having reported the matter to the Muharaj, agreed to the terms on his part, and Gunput Rao and Khundee Rao were sent to the conspirators' tents. But the Muharaj entertained foul suspicions and rancorous hate against the Ameer for his part in these proceedings. He had begun to look upon his promise to render up to the latter half the territory, as an embarrassing obligation. Now, however, that Khundee Rao, who was the rightful heir to the Holkur family, was in the hands of the mutineers, (3) the means existed of compelling the rigid performance of the promise, or of stripping him of the whole. Indeed it seemed to him by no means unlikely that the Ameer was in league with the officers, in which case the issue might well be the setting up of Khundee Rao and his own death. The anticipation and prevention of such a design he thought could not be too early taken care of. Having his head full of these groundless and unworthy suspicions, he began to plot for administering poison to the Ameer, whom he looked upon as the author of the intrigue: for he reflected that, if the Ameer meditated any further treachery, he was himself in his

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(1) گنپت راو دیوان (2) کھندي راو

(3) The mutinous troops hoisted the standard of Khundee Rao, and used his name while they held him as a hostage, and Juswunt Rao's suspicions were, therefore, justly excited, nor was it inconsistent with the Ameer's character to have suggested this course to the Afghans.

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power, and so long as the Ameer's life were spared, his own salvation from the effects of his hatred was hopeless. Thus throwing away the fear of God, and discarding the recollection of the Ameer's past services and kindnesses, he bribed a Khidmutkar of his own, by tempting offers, to undertake to get rid of his old associate in arms, and he gave him some poison wrapped up in a paper for the purpose.

The plan was, that this man should get himself entertained by the Ameer upon some deceitful tale, and then watch his opportunity to administer the poison. The Khidmutkar was to have a village of five thousand rupees, besides a sum of money down. The man keeping the poison about him, came to the Ameer one day, and complained that the Muharaj had dismissed him without fault. He said, he looked upon the Ameer as his only protector, and desired to be admitted to his service, that so he might obtain a livelihood. The Ameer took pity on the man, and entertained him. The Khidmutkar, however, was employed on services which gave him no access to the kitchen, or to the private chambers, where he would have had the opportunity of effecting his purpose, accordingly he left the Ameer's service, and went back to the Muharaj, and told him, he had been serving the Ameer some time, but had found no opportunity of doing what he had undertaken. The Muharaj was silent, but reflected that the only way apparently of effecting his purpose, was by dealing with the confidential servants of the Ameer. Revolving this in his mind, he desired his companions to tell him, if there were any very young men confidentially employed about the Ameer, for perhaps such a person

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might be gained to their purpose. They told the Muharaj there was a Khidmutkar named Khooshala, (1) a boy of Marhatta origin, who would most likely be open to a bribe. The Muharaj sent for Khooshala, and asked him if he was confidentially employed about the Ameer, "for" said he, "some evil disposed persons have been sowing ill-will between us, and I wish you to put something into his food which will restore us to perfect cordiality. If you will do this, you shall have a village of five thousand rupees and a ball of gold." The boy said he would speak first to his mother, which the Muharaj allowed. The Khidmutkar was, however, faithful: and uninfluenced by these magnificent promises gave a hint of the thing to the Ameer, saying, he thought his duty required he should advise him to be careful how he ate what might come from the Muharaj. The Ameer inquired into the particulars, telling Khooshala to speak out without reserve. The man at first hesitated, and would only say that he had given warning, and that ought to suffice; but at last he was brought to tell the whole. The Ameer being well pleased with the man's fidelity, told him to go back to the Muharaj, and to say that he had consulted his mother, and she had consented, and advised his entering into the scheme. The Khidmutkar did so, and undertook the execution of the project, whereupon the Muharaj gave him some deadly poison wrapped up in a paper, and the man brought it immediately to the Ameer, who tried it and kept it by him, and repented him of the devotion he had shown to one so faithless and capable of such black designs. He then went to the Muharaj,

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(1) خوشحالا

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and in a private conference, brought the matter to the test by saying, that he had got from a skilful physician some medicine which had so wonderfully improved his strength, that there was no describing the effect it had produced. The Muharaj asked for some of it, and the Ameer said he would himself show him how it was to be taken, for the physician's description of the mode of administering it was so complicated, that there would otherwise be some mistake. The Muharaj, who yet suspected nothing, assented, and the Ameer produced accordingly the deadly poison he had with him, wrapped up in a piece of cloth for the purpose. The Muharaj no sooner set eyes upon the unadministered poison, than the sight made its impression on his heart, and in the extremity of his shame the appearance of life and sense left his eyes. The Ameer then began his reproaches, and said—"Am I to believe you thus unmindful of past obligations and lost to the fear of Divine vengeance? Is this the reward you had prepared for all my labors and services?" The Muharaj, who was a master of hypocrisy, and not wanting in readiness and presence of mind, said, with his eyes filled with tears, "My enemies have been plotting to create mischief between us, and to dash the cup of friendship against the stone of hate, so that the wine of good will and affection should be spilled upon the ground past recovery. I have never sought any thing but your love, and have studied only to give you satisfaction, nor am I one to forget while I live the many favors I have experienced, and the obligations I owe you." The Ameer not choosing to pursue the matter further, was silent, and the Muharaj in his heart repented, and was a prey to self-reproach, and towards the Ameer behaved with all imaginable kindness. The two Chiefs

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accordingly prosecuted their march together in apparent good will, taking the road by Bura Nurayuna (1) to Malpoora, (2) in the Jyepoor country.

These events happened in the Hejira year 1221. (3)

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(1) نرایینه کلان (2) مالپورہ

(3) A. D. 1806, 21st March, to 1807, 10th March. This date also is one year in advance. April 1806 is the latest date that can be assigned to any event here related.

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BOOK THE SEVENTH.

WAR OF JYPOOR AND JOUDHPOOR FOR THE OODEEPOOR PRINCESS—THE AMEER'S CONCERN THEREIN.

CHAPTER I.

A. D. 1806.

May to December.

Muharaj Holkur proceeds to Pookur, near Ajmeer, and sends for his family from Joudhpoor—Interview with Man Singh, the Joudhpoor Raja, then on his way to marry the daughter of the Rana of Oodeepoor—The marriage broken off by the Rana upon a quarrel, and the Princess affianced to the Jypoor Raja—War between Joudhpoor and Jypoor in consequence.

WHILE the Muharaj was at Lahor, Raja Man Singh, (1) of Joudhpoor, entered into negociation with Rana Bheem Singh, (2) of Oodeepoor, to procure his own marriage with the Rana's daughter, though she had been already betrothed

(1) راجه مانسنگه راجه جود هپور (2) رانا بهیم سنگه

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to Raja Bheem Singh, (1) his first cousin, and predecessor in the Raj. The Rana gave his assent, but a quarrel soon after arose between the two Rajpoot Princes, in consequence of Man Singh's ejecting one Kishwur Singh, (2) a petty Chief of Khalee-Rao, who was connected distantly with the Oodeepoor family, and whose ancestors, indeed, had got the grant of the place as a marriage portion from those of the Rana. This act the Rana resented, and opened immediately a negociation for the marriage of his daughter with Jypoor. He told Raja Jugut Singh (3) that his consent had never been given to the marriage with Raja Man Singh, and he had no wish or intention of the kind, and he begged the Raja to send people to assist in defending the Ghats towards Joudhpoor. Raja Jugut Singh hearing most favorable reports of the beauty of the Princess, conceived a great desire for the match, and sent one Khooshal Singh, (4) his Darogah, with a force, to conclude arrangements for the purpose. The Darogah took the guard of the hill passes, and procuring a good miniature of the young Princess sent it to Raja Jugut Singh. (5)

The Jypoor Raja was enamoured of the Princess directly he set eyes on the picture: (6) he became uneasy at longer

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(1) راجه بهيم سنگه (2) كشور سنگه نامي رئيس كهالي راو
(3) راجه جگت سنگه راجه جي پور (4) خوشحال سنگه

(5) The beauty of Kishen Koomaree, which was the name of this ill-fated Princess, is universally extolled, and there cannot be a better evidence than the Ameer, the adviser of her death. Women should die young, and by violent means, if they desire the reputation of their beauty to live with posterity. The interest felt for this Princess is participated by Hindoos, Mooslims, and Europeans. Her story deserves well to be commemorated in a Melo-drama.

(6) Two pages of hyperbolical verses in praise of the young lady and her picture follow: they are quite untranslateable.

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separation from the idol of his imagination, and her image was ever present to his thoughts.

Raja Man Singh, of Joudhpoor, heard of this double dealing of the Rana of Oodeepoor, and complained first to Doulut Rao Sindheea, within whose Soobadaree Joudhpoor was, and who happened then to be in Mewar, praying him to prevent such a slight being put upon his Raj. Doulut Rao proceeded to Oodeepoor([1]) in consequence, and sent away Khooshal Singh, the Jypoor Darogha, with the guards, into whose keeping the passes had been assigned. But Raja Jugut Singh was bent on bringing about the marriage with himself, and instead of giving up the design, left no stone unturned to effect his purpose. No sooner was Doulut Rao's back turned, than he sent a Moosaheb, (companion) of his own, one Raee Rutun Lal, ([2]) with a fresh party, to secure the Ghats again. Raja Man Singh upon this consulted Sewaee Singh, the Sirdar of Phookurun, ([3]) a dependency of Joudhpoor, and one of his relations. This Sirdar, who was at bottom no friend of Man Singh, but had sown in the field of his heart the seeds of desire for his ruin, seeing the Raja's temper of mind, and thinking the occasion might be made to answer his inward purpose, gave advice to the following effect,—"It is," he said, "a slight and an injury such as ought never to be put up with, that a lady once affianced to the head of this State

([1]) The Jypoor detachment was driven out of Oodeepoor in June, 1806, and Doulut Rao remained a month in the valley of Oodeepoor, enforcing most oppressive contributions. He was at this time the decided partizan of Raja Man Singh, but in the war which ensued his Generals were on the Jypoor side, and Ambajee Inglia then his Minister, will be found in the camp of Raja Jugut Singh aiding actively his cause.

([2]) راي رتن لعل ([3]) سيواي سنگه سردار پهوكرن

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should be given to the head of another. It is a national affair, and amongst Rajas there cannot be a greater insult." Thus did this Sirdar fan the flame of the Raja's resentment, and pour oil into the fire of his jealousy, until the Raja determined at last to take the field with his troops, in order to be revenged for the indignity. Making a forced march, he came a distance of fifty kos at once to Busakoon, close by Pooshkur, (Pookur) (1) and sent one Induraj his Bukhshee, (2) or General, with troops, to stop the Jypoor retinue, which was already on march to Oodeepoor, and had got to Shahpoora. (3) The Bukhshee arriving at Shahpoora, advised the detachment to return, telling the Commandant, that if he did not, he was prepared to use force to compell it. Raee Rutun Lal, who was a peaceable man of sense and experience, being with the Jypoor party, persuaded the troops to return to Jypoor, and himself came over to Pookur, availing himself of Juswunt Rao Holkur's arrival there, as if he went to wait upon him. The Muharaj had come, accompanied by the Ameer, to Malpoora, in the Jypoor country, and had dispatched the Ameer to Jypoor to make further arrangements with that Court, after which proceeding with a light force of one or two thousand horse, he himself turned off to Pookur, in advance of his army. Here he had an interview with Raja Man Singh, and sent for his family, which, while on route to Lahor, he had left at Joudhpoor for security. The main body of his troops were at Hurmara, (4) a long march in the rear, when the Muharaj entered Pookur. It was at this time, that Raee Rutun Lal came from Shahpoora, and

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(1) بساکن متصل پوشکر (2) اندراج بخشي

(3) شاہ پورہ (4) هرمارہ

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waited upon the Muharaj and likewise upon Raja Man Singh. His good sense led him to see the absurdity of the two Rajas going to war upon such a quarrel, and he, accordingly, negociated an accommodation with Raja Man Singh on these terms, that both Rajas should give up the Oodeepoor Princess, and that Raja Jugut Singh should marry Raja Man Singh's daughter, and give his own sister in return to the Joudhpoor Raja.

In the mean time the Ameer having arranged the matter of the tribute at Jypoor, left the main body of his troops there, and came with a few attendants to Pookur in all haste. He immediately waited upon the Muharaj, and Raja Man Singh hearing of his arrival, asked the Muharaj to introduce him to his presence also. The Muharaj reporting the Joudhpoor Raja's wish, asked the Ameer's pleasure on the subject, when the Ameer said—"That must depend on the manner in which the Raja shall propose to receive me. The Raja must give me the meeting of honor, (Istuqbal) and receive me with all attention. I will not see him on the terms you do, with a crowd of persons knocking their turbands on the ground, and without return of proper respect on the Raja's part." The Muharaj thinking it to be derogatory to himself for the Ameer to be received with more ceremony than he was, threw cold water on the proposition, and told the Raja, that the Ameer was always in diffioulty with his mutinous troops, who were clamorous for pay, and being Afghans, very difficult to manage. "God knows," said he to the Raja, "whether something unpleasant might not happen at the very time of his interview with you:" and thus he put off the introduction of the Ameer for the time, telling the Raja further, that so long as he himself and the Raja were on good terms, and the Ameer and he

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were one, the formal presentation of the latter was unnecessary. The Muharaj, on the other hand, told the Ameer, that the Raja (1) would not receive him on the terms he desired. The Ameer thereupon said—"By the blessing of God I aim myself at Empire, and God willing, I will make this Raja receive me as I desire, by the power of the sword."

Muharaj Holkur settled the tribute of Jypoor with Raee Rutun Lal at ten lakhs of rupees: but by a separate secret article it was agreed, that a further like sum should be paid, on the Muharaj's army leaving the Jypoor country and entering Kotah. This was a special consideration for withholding assistance from Raja Man Singh. Having so adjusted this affair, the Muharaj sent the Ameer to Jypoor to make sure of the money and complete arrangements. The Ameer accordingly went to Jypoor and encamped near the city. Some Moosahebs of the Raja came to negociate with him about the forms of his reception at the Durbar. The Ameer insisted that the Raja himself should give him the Istuqbal, (or honorary meeting) and receive him with all respect, and upon that condition he should be happy to wait upon him. The Raja at first objected, but at last, out of respect for the Ameer's reputation and credit in the world, he agreed; accordingly, he came out of the gate to receive him, and thence conducted him with all due ceremony to the hall of audience in his palace. The Ameer staid some days at Jypoor, and received the money in full, as promised to Juswunt Rao Holkur. He besides agreed to a transfer

(1) There are not in all Hindoostan more difficult courts to arrange a point of etiquette with, than these three, Oodeepoor, Jypoor, and Joudhpoor. They expect the most servile obeisance from all who approach them.

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of the perguna of Tonk to Jypoor for two lakhs more, to be paid in a year, and then left Raee Himmut Raee to settle the remaining money arrangements. The Ameer on this occasion made acquaintance with a connexion of the same race, his preceptor's son, by name Mohummud Ayaz Khan, (1) who was in the Raja's service, and cultivated an intimacy with him. A negociation was carried on in secret between him and the Ameer, originating in a proposition of the Khan, to give his daughter in marriage to the Ameer, to which, in consideration of the high respectability of that family, the Ameer agreed. The Khan accordingly went back with the Ameer, and was presented to the Muharaj at Pookur, and the arrangements were made for the celebration of the marriage at the sacred city of Ajmeer, which is only three kos from Pookur. It was there that the pearl of chastity, who is a glory to both families, was united in holy matrimony with the Ameer, and several days were spent in rejoicings. Soon after this, the Ameer took his leave of the Muharaj, in order to go to Sheergurh (2) in Kotah, to bring away the members of his family, who had taken refuge there during the troubles of the war. At his audience of leave he gave it as his advice to the Muharaj, that after realizing the Jypoor tribute, and so releasing Khundee Rao, who was the hostage for a payment to the troops as before stated, the Muharaj should unite his forces with the Joudhpoor Raja, who had claims upon him for receiving his family at the risk of giving umbrage to the English: this he said, would be the most creditable course for him to take before the world. The Muharaj who had received money on the condition of going off towards Kotah, and

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(1) محمد ایاز خان اخونزادہ (2) شیرگڈھ

abandoning Raja Man Singh, and had concluded engagements to this effect with Raee Rutun Lal, avoided following the Ameer's advice, but concealing his real motive, said, he could not stay where he was an instant longer, so much was he troubled by the importunities of the troops. The Ameer pressed the thing much, and pointed out that there would be discredit incurred before the world in deserting Raja Man Singh; still the Muharaj could not be brought round. Having, indeed, realized ten lakhs of rupees from Raee Rutun Lal, and agreed to march towards Kotah, in consideration of getting a second ten lakhs, he was bent on moving in that direction, that with the money he might get Khundee Rao out of the hands of the troops. He accordingly gave the Ameer a lakh of rupees when he took his leave, and the Ameer wrote to his troops to move from Digee in Jypoor, (1) where they were encamped, assigning Muuzimabad(2) as the place of general rendezvous, where he proposed to meet them himself, after bringing his family from Sheergurh, preparatory to a march into Kotah. The meeting took place according to this plan, and the Ameer gave the troops assignments on Jypoor in liquidation of their arrears. Thence marching by Lawah, Saknan, and Basee, (3) he came to Madhoopoor, (4) and crossed the Chumbul by the Ghat there, after which, plundering a convoy of Bunjaras by the way, he came to Sheeopoor, (5) and encamped.

In the mean time Muharaj Holkur having borrowed from Raja Man Singh five hundred horse for a

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(1) دگي متعلقه جي پور (2) معظم آباد (3) لاوه ساكنان باسي
(4) مادهو پور (5) شيو پوره

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body guard, induced him to return to Joudhpoor, and then himself went to Hurmara, where the main body of his army was encamped, taking these horse with him. There he paid to the troops the money realized upon the Jypoor hoondees, and so recovered the person of Khundee Rao. He then sent the brigades towards Indor. The Jypoor authorities began, however, to look with jealousy upon the presence of the five hundred Rathor horse with the Muharaj, thinking, that there must be some private understanding between him and the Joudhpoor Raja, and fancying that the purpose was, that they should suddenly carry off the Oodeepoor Princess to Joudhpoor, and that Juswunt Rao Holkur was to aid and abet this violence. Suspecting his designs, therefore, the Jypoor Raja received into his service several of the dismissed Afghan officers, such as Meer Mukhdoom of Hyderabad, Wajid Khan, Khoda Bukhsh, Meer Sudur-oo-Deen of Sarungpoor, Meer Murdan Ulee, and the Nuwab Khanjehan, with others, who had been paid up and had taken their discharge in discontent after the conclusion of peace with the English. Furthermore, Raja Man Singh no sooner returned to Joudhpoor than Sewaee Singh of Phookurun, and Raja Soorut Singh (1) of Bikaneer, both his secret enemies, under the cloak of friendship, set themselves again to work upon his pride, and pouring oil on the flame of his discontent, persuaded him that he had been over-reached by Raee Rutun Lal, and that it was beneath him to agree to a double marriage with Jypoor on equal terms, and to give up his claims to the Oodeepoor Princess, with whom he had been first affianced, and more especially, that it

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(1) راجه صورت سنگه بیکانیر والے

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was degrading and derogatory to yield such a point from considerations of fear. While these two Chiefs were thus spiriting up Raja Man Singh to mischief, they secretly wrote to advise Raja Jugut Singh to espouse the cause of Dhokul Singh, (1) Man Singh's nephew, who was the true heir of the Raj, and who, they said, could depend on themselves and a large party amongst the Joudhpoor nobles, and thus Man Singh might be driven from his Musnud. By instigations of this kind, the fire of discord was again lighted between the two Rajas, and war commenced.

Raja Jugut Singh determining on the invasion of Joudhpoor, sent Lala Mehtab Raee (2) and Mohummud Ghufoor Khan, (3) to beg the Ameer's aid to his cause. They came to him at Sheeopoor. While, however, they were in treaty with the Ameer, Moonuwur Khan, Umur Khan, Jumsheed Khan, and some other officers, who had been paid by checks on Jypoor, which had not been honored, came back, bringing Raee Himmut Raee along with them, and set themselves to raise a tumult in camp. These men, persuading some others to join with them, got the Ameer's person in their power, and sat Dhurna upon him, thus obscuring with a temporary halo the bright moon of his auspicious fortune. Such was the severity they used towards him, that it is a wonder he outlived it. The Ameer seeing no means of settling with the malcontents, and finding it to be impossible to send away his family to Sheergurh again, as he desired, and to continue the negociations with Jypoor while these severities lasted, determined on a resort to stratagem and deceit.

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(1) دهوکل سنگه (2) لاله مهتا براي (3) محمد غفور خان

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He pretended, therefore, for three or four days to be ill, and began to make frequent visits to the privy at unusual hours; and one night having got a servant named Hyat to be in wait there for him, he changed clothes with him and sent him back with the guard, and then watching his opportunity, slit the kunats or walls of the tent, and jumping over another fence of the same kind, got into the tents where his family lived. Putting them quickly into palkees, while he mounted his horse himself, he slipped with them unperceived out of a corner of the camp, and immediately crossing the Chumbul at a ford close by, found himself in safety; for he had suggested to Muhummed Noor Khan,(1) the Kota Raja's Vakeel, to post a battalion of the troops of that state to guard the ghats on that side of the river, and to them he went. Desiring them, therefore, to keep on the watch, so as to prevent pursuit, the Ameer got into the fort of Malweeah,(2) which was about a kos off. When the mutineers of the army discovered in the morning that they had only Hyat the khidmutkar under duress, a great tumult arose. The Ameer sent word for those who were faithful and obedient to encamp separate from the malcontents, preparatory to the latter being dealt with according to their deserts. On receiving this order, Dara Shah Khan (3) and some other Rampoor Surdars, who had before made their peace with the Ameer, went and encamped separately, and a large proportion of the army followed them. At last Jumsheed Khan, Umur Khan, and the other Afreedees who were at the head of the mutiny, submitted, and with all humility

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(1) محمد نور خان

(2) مالویه Perhaps Palee will be the place intended.

(3) دارا شاه خاں

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deprecating the Ameer's vengeance, entered into the most solemn promises and engagements, to which they swore on the Koran, that they would never again resort to Dhurna. Order and discipline were thus restored, and the Ameer returned to the command. He then sent the army to Pooree Shahabad(1) under his nephew Ahmed Khan, and having brought his arrangements with Jypoor to a settlement, and agreed to afford his military service in the coming war on that side, he sent back Raee Himmut Raee to Jypoor along with the Vakeels, and himself took his family to Sheergurh; after which, he had an interview with Raj-Rana Zalim Singh, (2) and staid with him six weeks. Raee Data Ram, (3) son of Raee Himmut Raee, had been waiting at Seronj during the Ameer's long absence in the operations which took him to Lahor: he now came over, and was introduced to the Ameer along with his cousin Lala Bhooanee Proshad, (4) and both were entertained by the Ameer as moonshees, that is in the Secretary's office, but they got leave to return first to their homes.

The Ameer having placed his family again in Sheergurh, marched to rejoin his troops, and was encamped three kos from Kotah, when Chimna Bhao came to him from Muharaj Juswunt Rao Holkur, urging him with all earnestness, to side with Raja Man Singh. Along with him came Jeetmul (5) Moonshee on that Raja's part, offering a large sum of money and country yielding several lakhs of rupees, on condition of his throwing up his engagement with Jypoor, and entering into terms with his master. The Ameer said he had already

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(1) پوري شاها باد (2) راجرانا ظالم سنگه (3) راي داتا رام
(4) لاله بهوانی پرشاد (5) جيتمل

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pledged himself to Raja Jugut Singh, and it was impossible for him to break the engagement he had contracted. Raja Man Singh's and the Muharaj's Vukeels despairing of success in their designs, took leave upon this. In the mean time Ahmed Khan, the Ameer's nephew, (sister's son) had taken the army round to the Lakheree Ghat (1) from Pooree Shahabad, under instructions to the effect from the Ameer: there the Ameer joined his troops, and his army was further reinforced by Namdar Khan, (2) Imam Bukhsh, (3) and Shuhamut Khan, (4) (Kureem Khan's son) Pindaras, who came upon his invitation from Malwa. Kureem Khan himself was in confinement, having fallen into Sindheea's power, which prevented his also joining the Ameer. From Lakheree the force thus collected, moved to Sambhur. (5)

The Muharaj, who was at Hurmara, in the Jypoor country, brooding over the recent defection of his officers, and thinking himself and his power, and even life insecure, while Khundee Rao lived to be set up by the factious in his place, caused poison to be administered to his nephew, and so destroyed him. The Ameer hearing of this cruelty, determined to avoid a present interview with the Muharaj: but Juswunt Rao no sooner heard of the Ameer's arrival at Sambhur than he plotted to take him off by treachery, and wrote to beg that he would come with a few attendants and give him a meeting, leaving his army where it was. His notion was that, since, now peace existed with the English, the Ameer went on raising troops, and even winning over his own officers, not being bound like himself to

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(1) گهاٹه لا کهيري (2) نامدار خان (3) امام بخش
(4) شهامت خان پسر کريم خان پندا ره (5) سا نبهر

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reduce his army, and apparently not inclined to do so, it would be impossible for him to resist the Ameer's just demand of half his possessions; consequently that his only resource and hope was to get rid of his old associate in arms, by fair or foul means; and he laid his plan to effect this at the meeting to which he invited him. The Ameer, whose conduct and character within and without were clear as the spotless sun, guessed not the Muharaj's purpose, and was preparing to meet him as requested, but a casual tumult from some clamorous unpaid troops prevented his going, and the day was lost in squabbling and disputing with them. Towards evening, the Ameer set off with one thousand horse from Sambhur, and came to Hurmara about the middle of the night, the distance being eight or nine kos. For want of any other assigned place to alight in, he at once went with all his Suwaree to the Muharaj's tents, and leaving his men all round about, sought an interview with him. In consequence of his coming thus unexpectedly, and at such an hour the Muharaj's treacherous purpose was entirely defeated. Having obtained an interview, the Ameer (1) stated, that his opinion was, that the Muharaj ought never to have given up the friendship of Raja Man Singh, who had received his family during the war with the English, and that even now he should hold by that Chief. The Muharaj replied —"The troops have used me infamously, and I cannot stay with them an instant, more particularly the men who have gone over to Jypoor and taken service with Raja Jugut Singh, my life would not be safe from those ruffians, were I to remain here and make my peace with Raja Man Singh." Then, turning short in his conversation, he asked

(1) Although the Ameer asserts the failing of Juswunt Rao's purpose to be accidental, there is too much appearance of design to gain him credence for so much innocence and simplicity.

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the Ameer, "And you, why do you go on adding to your army? what is the object of these new levies? where is the enemy to cope with? and where the resources to pay them?" The Ameer replied, "Men of high ambition never abandon their purpose: they yield neither to time, nor to place, nor to circumstance. God is the dispenser of bounties and the disposer of all events. Recollect when you yourself first met me, what then was the condition of your army and of your resources? The glory and the state you have attained have been the gift of God, as the reward of your high ambition and pertinacity of purpose. It is now my turn to see what Providence has in store for me." There was much matter for deep reflection in these few words of the Ameer, and the Muharaj reading their meaning, said cunningly, "If you intend to continue in the pursuit of these ambitious designs, you must now separate from me in public as in quarrel, so that our enemies and the world in general may see that your continuing to raise troops is a source of dissatisfaction and displeasure to me, and not done with my concurrence or sanction. We may still understand one another in case of occasion arising for us to rejoin our forces." The Ameer agreed, and said he would observe that course; but he added, "My last advice is that you join Raja Man Singh, leaving me to take the side of Raja Jugut Singh in this war. We should by that means turn the conflict to our own purposes, spinning it out at pleasure, till the resources of both were exhausted, and till both were in our power." The Muharaj said, "As I said before so I repeat, that part is impossible for me now: but do you go over to Man Singh in my room." The Ameer said, that he was already under compact with Raja Jugut Singh, and could not retreat without dishonor to the Afghan name. The Muharaj was silent. After this, when the Ameer took his formal

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leave in open Durbar, harsh words passed between him and the Muharaj, and so to the time when the Ameer mounted his Palkee as in high displeasure. The Muharaj running on foot some paces along side took hold of the feet of it, and made a show of endeavouring to soothe and appease the Ameer. The Ameer, however, pretended not to listen, but returned immediately to Sambhur to his own army, and moved it next day to Danta Ramgurh, (1) in Jypoor, where he remained a few days. In the mean time, the Muharaj marched by Shahpoora through Mewar to Indor. These events happened in the Hejira year 1222. (2)

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(1) دانتا رام گڈھ

(2) A. D. 1807, 11th March to 27th February, 1808. Still in advance one season.

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BOOK THE SEVENTH.

CHAPTER II.

A. D. 1807.

January to June.

Raja Jugut Singh, with the Ameer in company, moves against Joudhpoor, is opposed by Raja Man Singh on the frontier—The Joudhpoor Thakoors desert the Raja, who is defeated and flies to Joudhpoor—Raja Jugut Singh pursues and invests Joudhpoor, conceives evil suspicions of the Ameer, which lead to a breach of their friendship.

SEEING the youth of Raja Jugut Singh, and the weakness of Oodeepoor, Dewan Raee Chund, (1) who managed affairs at Jypoor, was encouraged by the prospects of Dhokul Singh, who had the preferable title to Man Singh (2) to the Musnud of Joudhpoor, and by the pro-

(1) رایچند دیوان

(2) Raja Man Singh succeeded to the throne of Marwar in 1804, upon the death of Raja Bheem Singh, the son of Bijye Singh. This inexorable Chief had nearly exterminated the family, and was besieging Man Singh himself in Jhalor, when he died suddenly under strong suspicion of poison. Man Singh was his first cousin, and was at once elevated to the Guddee by the Rathor Chiefs, but Bheem Singh had left

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mise of aid from Siwaee Singh of Phookurun, and Soorut Singh of Bikaneer, and other Rathor Sirdars, to lend himself to the Oodeepoor match, in the hope that it would benefit his Raj, the occasion seeming so favorable for the attack of Joudhpoor. If Man Singh could be deposed, and Dhokul Singh, who was a child, be placed on the Musnud, it seemed to Raee Chand, that his influence would rule both principalities, besides having the ascendancy at Oodeepoor, through the marriage of the Raja with the Princess. The Dewan therefore urged the young Raja to draw out his army against Joudhpoor, spiriting him up with romantic fancies suited to his years. Raja Jugut Singh accordingly left Jypoor with a large army, and marched to Kho-Khundla, in the Shekhawatee (1) country. Including all descriptions of troops; viz. the household and special troops of the Raja, the quotas of his Thakoors, Siwaee Singh's Rathors, and Soorut Singh's troops from Bikaneer, with other auxiliaries, added to which was Bala Rao's division of Sindheea's army, and the Hydurabad Puthans who had left Holkur, and withal the Ameer's army, including his new levies and associates, the entire force set in motion by Jypoor on this occasion, cannot be computed at less than three hundred thousand men, horse and foot. The Ameer left

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a widow, pregnant, from whom Dhokul Singh was born. The infant was sent at its birth, in a basket, to Siwaee Singh of Phookurun, who concealed it for two years, and then avowed to the assembled Chiefs the existence of the child, and claimed Nagor to be set apart as a domain for him. Man Singh promised compliance if the mother avowed the infant. It is said, that she disowned it. Siwaee Singh then sent the child to be brought up at Khetree in the Shekhawatee country, to be out of the Raja's way. The young man is now an exile at Dehlee, dependent upon the generosity of the Chiefs of that neighbourhood, for common maintenance. The British Government has always refused to recognize his claims. He must have been only three years old when his cause was espoused by Jypoor, in the manner here stated.

(1) کهو کهندهله متعلقه شیخاواتي

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Sambhur with his light troops to join his main body at Danta Ramgurh, not far from where the Jypoor forces were collected. Upon his joining and taking the command, there was some negociation about the ceremonial of his presentation to the Raja. The distance between the encampments was three or four kos, and it was finally settled that the two Chiefs should start at the same time, and so meet on elephants midway. The meeting having thus taken place, the Raja took the Ameer along with him to his tents, and both alighted at a large tent prepared for the purpose, the Raja treating his guest with all attention, and causing nautch girls, and singers, and dancers to exhibit before him during the interview. Then sending for the Ameer to his own tent, he consulted him about the war, and the manner in which his assistance should be rendered. The Ameer said, "Recollect! I do not join you as a soldier entertained in your service, but make war upon Raja Man Singh (1) on my own account. I shall thus act as your auxiliary, giving all the benefit to your cause that I may." The Raja agreed to receive the Ameer's co-operation on this footing, and the Ameer took his leave, and returned to his tents.

Raja Man Singh was not neglectful of the precautions necessary for the defence of his throne and country, but came with the special troops of his Raj, and the quotas of his Thakoors and auxiliaries, to the number altogether of fifty or sixty thousand horse and foot, to Purbut-Sur, (2) in the hills which form the boundary of his territory, and there

(1) The advance of the Jypoor forces towards the position occupied by Raja Man Singh and the Rathors, took place towards the end of February, or in the beginning of March, 1807.

(2) پربت سر In the hills west of the Sambhur lake.

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encamped. Raja Jugut Singh hearing of this, sent word to the Ameer, and gave the order for his own army to march. It happened that Jumsheed Khan, Umur Khan, Kurum Ulee Khan, and other Afreedee Sirdars, were then sitting Dhurna on the Ameer for their arrears, and, having his person in their power, they both refused themselves to march, and detained him. The Ameer therefore sent the Rampoor Sirdars, and others who were faithful and obedient, to accompany Raja Jugut Singh, and they went on to Purbutsur. The two armies had not come to action before the Ameer, having brought the Afreedee Rusaladars and other mutineers to listen to reason, came up also by forced marches, and joining Raja Jugut Singh, took his share in the operations against the Joudhpoor Raja. Surjee Rao Ghatkea had been detached by Raja Jugut Singh to make collections in Oodeepoor, and he took the opportunity to plunder Palee (1) and other places under Joudhpoor : intelligence of which reaching Raja Man Singh, he detached a party of the Jalor (2) horse, with some of those he most trusted, to check this incursion. These troops, however, being tampered with by Siwaee Singh and the Bikaneer Raja, deserted their colours at the very moment of proceeding on this service, and came over and ranged themselves on the side of Raja Jugut Singh. Seeing their perfidy, and uncertain how far it might extend, Raja Man Singh broke up his camp, and fled (3) with only three or four thousand

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(1) پالی (2) سواران جالوري

(3) Raja Man Singh fled to Meertha on the 14th March, 1807, according to the report of these events forwarded to the Bengal Government by the Resident at Dehlie. There is no material difference in the two accounts. The Jypoor Raja was at Purbutsur on the 19th March, and is stated to have alienated Ameer Khan by a demand for the booty taken in the pursuit.

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horse, to Joudhpoor, sacrificing his artillery, tents, supplies, and all his state equipages, and paraphernalia. His silver houda and palkee, and the Mahee Muratib, were taken by the Ameer's men, the rest fell a prey to the Jypoor troops. The Ameer was sent by the Jypoor Raja in pursuit, and followed towards Meertha, as far as Bukhree. (1) Here he was met by hurkarus, who told him that although the Raja was at Meertha when they came away he meant to make no stay there, but was on the point of flying to Joudhpoor. The Ameer now reflected that as Raja Man Singh was a great Chief, to pursue him further and reduce him to greater straights and degradation was not a worthy part for him to play; that it was better to let him get away to Joudhpoor. The Ameer accordingly wrote to Raja Jugut Singh that Man Singh was at Meertha, about to retire to Joudhpoor; that after pursuing him as far as Bukhree, his (the Ameer's) horses were knocked up, and he had been compelled to halt, till it should be determined what next should be done. "For my part," the Ameer added, "it seems to me to be no longer necessary to keep so large a force in the field. I would recommend that you proceed in person to Joudhpoor, with the Bikaneer troops and those of Siwaee Singh, which will be abundantly sufficient to complete the settlement of affairs there; and that you depute me to Oodeepoor to finish the marriage arrangements, and discharge the rest of the army. If, on the other hand, you prefer going yourself to Oodeepoor to celebrate the marriage in person, and to bring the Princess to Jypoor, then send me and my troops to Joudhpoor, which will equally promote the final settlement according to your wishes." Raja Jugut Singh did

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(1) بکھري

not at all approve this suggestion, but wrote for answer, that after going to the trouble and expence of collecting so large a force, he would see what he could do, and it was quite unnecessary for the Ameer to separate or go on ahead; that he therefore should fall in with the rest of the army. The Ameer accordingly returned from Bukhree to Purbutsur.

Shortly after this, Sheoo Lal Bukhshee, (1) an officer of the Jypoor State, who at the time of the Ameer's return was sent with a force of forty or fifty thousand horse in advance against Raja Man Singh, and had reached Beesulpoor, (2) heard there, that all the Rathors were about to collect and to put on the yellow dress, indicative of a determination to fight and die. Taking alarm at this, he wrote to Raja Jugut Singh for reinforcements from the Ameer's army. Raja Jugut Singh accordingly sent for the Ameer, and told him how matters stood, and requested him to march for the support of the Bukhshee. The men of the Ameer's army were at this time mutinous for pay, but the Ameer, reflecting that it would be discreditable to allow himself to be detained when such a service was before him, started with about fifty horse, and sent word to the rest of his troops to follow with all despatch. At about midnight he found the Bukhshee, and alighted at the tents of Meer Mukhdoom, and the other Afghan horse, who had been taken into service by Jypoor on receiving their discharge from Holkur, and there he spent the night. Marching next morning, he went on to Joudhpoor, and was joined by his troops, who had followed. Raja Man Singh seeing

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(1) شيو لعل بخشي (2) بيسلپور

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the strength of the army which came up, withdrew his forces, which were encamped at first outside of the town, within the walls, and Raja Jugut Singh, having established garrisons in some of the Joudhpoor Forts,(1) came himself to the capital and invested it on all sides. His own troops he posted opposite the Meertha Gate in Race Bagh. (2) The Ameer's troops at Ukhee Raja's tank. The Shekhawatees and other quotas, with Siwaee Singh's troops on the other sides, and trenches were thrown up every where. The Jypoor authority was in the mean time established at Nagor, Meertha, Purbutsur, and other places in Marwar, and Bukhshee Sheeo Lal was employed with forty thousand horse, making collections in all directions. Nothing was left to Raja Man Singh but Joudhpoor itself, Jalor, and the fort of Seemana. (3)

The trenches had been open against Joudhpoor eight days, when Bukhshee Induraj Singee, (4) Sheeonath Singh, of Kochaon,(5) and the Sirdars of Meertha, also Sultan Singh, of Humaj,(6) and Keshuree Singh and Bukhtawur Singh, of Amboha,(7) represented to the Raja, that the enemy was in great strength, and the city was invested on all sides, and must be taken in a few days more, when it would be given up to pillage. That it would be better therefore for the Raja to allow them to endeavour to save the city, by making separate terms with Raja Jugut Singh, that so they

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(1) The main body of the Jypoor army arrived at Joudhpoor, and completed the investment of the place on the 1st April, 1807.

(2) باغ راي متصل ميرته دروازه (3) سيمانه

(4) بخشي اندراج سنگي (5) شيو ناتهه سنگه رئيس کوچاون

(6) سلطان سنگه تهاکرهماج (7) کيسريسنگه و بختاورسنگه انبوه واله

might overreach him, and get abroad to raise up enemies to him from without: that the Raja might in the interim take refuge, with those he could best rely upon, in the fort of Joudhpoor, and there hold out, till God, the disposer of events, should produce a favorable turn of affairs. Raja Man Singh dreading that, if he refused acquiescence in their plan, these Chiefs would desert him as the rest had done, with the usual infidelity of the Rathors, told them to do what they thought best. Accordingly Singee Induraj and the rest entered into negociation with Raja Jugut Singh, and proposed that they should surrender the city, and be allowed to go where they pleased. The Jypoor Raja granted these terms, and occupied (1) and established his authority in the city, while Man Singh retired to the fort, and the Chiefs, headed by Singee Indaraj, came and encamped with the Jypoor army. Siege was now laid to the fort of Joudhpoor, and several houses of the city being destroyed by the fire from the fort, the besiegers prepared a mine; but as the fort was strong and on a scarped rock, this mode of attack was given up. In the mean time Bukhshee Induraj getting away with two thousand horse, shut up the passes of the Bukhree hills towards Ajmeer, so as to cut off the direct communication with Jypoor. Raja Man Singh also sent Gholamee Khan, Afghan, who had been the Ameer's Vukeel with Juswunt Rao, and had subsequently been employed by the latter on important missions, and was now at the Joudhpoor Durbar on the Muharaj's part, to the Ameer secretly, to ask his aid in his extremity. The Ameer could not reconcile it to himself to enter into any negociation at that time, and sent back a decided negative.

(1) The town of Joudhpoor was occupied by the Jypoor troops on the 16th April, 1807.

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While this was passing at Joudhpoor, Bapoo Sindheea, Ambajee Inglia, and Jean Baptiste Furingee, came with Doulut Rao's army to Meertha by Raja Jugut Singh's invitation, and began making collections there, while Ambajee came on to Joudhpoor, (1) and was a partaker of the Councils of the Durbar. It appeared, that Doulut Rao, hearing of the Ameer's union with Raja Jugut Singh, consulted with Ambajee on the subject, and observed that as the Ameer was a man of deep designs and high ambition, it would not be wise to allow him to meddle with the affairs of Rajisthan, or to establish an influence there. He enjoined Ambajee, therefore, to contrive somehow to get him sent away from that scene. Ambajee no sooner joined the camp, than he represented to Raee Chund, the Dewan, and to Siwaee Singh, of Phookurun, who were the Raja's principal advisers, that they had not shown much wisdom in admitting the Ameer to be a party to this war, for he had ambition and deep designs, and only waited for a favorable opportunity to overthrow the Raja's authority: he instanced also the little favor that had been shown to Raja Man Singh in his distress by Juswunt Rao Holkur, who was under such obligations to him for protecting his family in the war with the English, to show how completely he and those attached to him were the slaves of circumstances, insensible to any feeling but that of interest. "The Ameer," he concluded, "is like Juswunt Rao, or worse: let but the time and opportunity serve, and your Raj will rue the consequences." The Raja's counsellors replied, "The Ameer is a sucking infant: what can he do to injure us,

(1) Ambajee Inglia arrived in the Jypoor camp, under the fort of Joudhpoor, on the 7th June, 1807. Ameer Khan came to a breach with the Jypoor Durbar, and was reported to be plundering in the Jypoor territory on the 7th July following.

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standing as we do now at the head of affairs of such magnitude." The Ameer hearing of this conversation, sent Raee Himmut Raee and Lala Mehtab Raee to Raee Chund Dewan, to say that he had heard they were proud of their wisdom, and they had reason; but Siwaee Singh was an unlucky man: all who hitherto had been connected with him had been ruined, and after all fate was every thing. The Dewan was rather ashamed of himself on receiving this message, and said that in a moment of pique and vexation he had perhaps spoken with unnecessary harshness. Raee Himmut Raee said promptly, "The Ameer too has sent this message in such a moment:" the Dewan was silent.

From the time of Ambajee's arrival in camp, the allowance of five thousand rupees per diem which used to be paid to the Ameer regularly, was stopped; and although the troops became mutinous in consequence, and took to Dhurna on the Ameer, putting him to great distress for funds, his applications to the Jypoor Durbar were quite unattended to. At last, with extreme difficulty, in order to satisfy his importunity, they gave him a bill for a month's pay on one or two persons, whom they had previously instructed to withhold payment. The troops impatient at the want of money, put the Ameer under close restraint, and then pelted him with stones from a terrace above, to such a degree that the bruises were a hundred times worse than sword-wounds. The Ameer upon this, sent Raee Himmut Raee and Lala Mehtab Raee again to the Dewan, to urge the necessity of furnishing somehow an immediate supply of cash to appease the troops, who were ready to proceed to all manner of outrages. No one listened to this message. In fact, Ambajee was plotting one way or other to get the Ameer sent away in

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disgrace, and the Dewan yielding to his insinuations, conceived every day more unjust suspicions, so as at last to be filled with hate towards the Ameer. Matters came at length to that pass, that the Ameer getting into his palkee, went off from his post before Joudhpoor, and carried his troops with him to Beesulpoor, (1) which is one march towards Jypoor. Raja Jugut Singh now sent Lala Mehtab Raee to try and reconcile matters with him, and an outward reconciliation was effected, promise being made that on the Ameer's return to camp every thing should be settled. The Ameer upon these assurances left the main body of his troops, and wrote to Mookhtar-ood-Doula Mohummud Shah Khan, who was with two brigades, making collections about Seronj, to take on himself the management of Tonk as his Jageer, and to give up the Amilship of Seronj to Moonuwur Khan, the Ameer's elder wife's youngest brother. Then mounting his palkee, for he was not yet sufficiently recovered of his bruises from the stone-pelting to be able to ride on horseback, he went, attended by only three hundred horse, towards Joudhpoor, and pitched his tents about two kos from the Jypoor army. The Dhurna had never been taken off by the troops, no money having reached them; but at this particular time, seeing no benefit in keeping the Ameer under restraint, the Rampoor and Afreedee Rusaladars came to an agreement, each to send two officers of their own to accompany the Ameer to the Raja, and to divide between them whatever money might be obtained at the interview. Accordingly, the Ameer got into his palkee to go to the Raja, and he hearing of it had a small tent

(1) بیسلپور

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(Routee) pitched close to his own for the Ameer's reception, not giving him audience, as heretofore, in his state tent, with nautching and singing, as is usual towards persons of high consideration. He received him indeed completely *de haut en bas*. The Ameer, on entering the Routee, said to those with him, "See what you have brought me to. This is all the consideration and respect paid to my rank and reputation." All present feeling the reproach, vowed from that time forth to serve the Ameer truly and with obedience, to unite their fortunes with his for good and for evil, and to regard his injuries and insults as their own. The Ameer said, "How can you be satisfied without money?" They said, "We will wait, and not trouble you till you can provide funds." The men uniting in these assurances, joined in prayer afterwards, and rising said, "Now, for life or for death, we are your's." The Ameer then sent Raee Himmut Raee to the Jypoor Dewan, to say that howsoever little the sum might be, yet something must be sent to satisfy the present wants of the troops. He paid no attention to the message, and sent not a farthing. The Ameer afterwards demeaned himself so far, as to send and ask for four or five hundred rupees to provide a day's food for the men immediately with him, but without effect,—all being bent on his ruin, refused or evaded compliance, and for the day his men had nothing. The Ameer now reflected that although it was sufficiently evident that his ruin was intended by these short-sighted people, and that Ambajee's counsels had prevailed, yet that by the blessing of God he feared them not, and as he had failed in no tittle of his own agreement with Raja Jugut Singh, while on their part there had been nothing but perfidy and bad faith, God would give them the fruit of their actions.

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BOOK THE SEVENTH.

CHAPTER III.

1807.

July to October.

The Ameer breaks with the Jypoor Court, and receives overtures from Raja Man Singh—Retires from Joudhpoor—Intrigue with Bapoo Sindheea—Is followed by Bukhshee Sheolal—Affairs with him—Defeat of the Jypoor Detachment—Raja Jugut Singh breaks up from Joudhpoor, and returns for the defence of his Capital.

At this time Raja Man Singh hearing of the differences between the Ameer and the Jypoor Durbar, sent a letter, written in his own hand, secretly, by Gholamee Khan, saying, that the Ameer must know how the rest of his friends and the world had treated him, that he was now reduced to the last extremity, and if the Ameer would take up his cause in his difficulties, he would recollect the service with gratitude for the rest of his life. Although on the former occasion of Gholamee Khan's bringing him a similar message, he had no ground and no intention to break with Raja Jugut Singh, yet conceiving himself

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absolved by that Raja's subsequent conduct, and by the open and secret practises against him of the Raja's officers and advisers, he determined, upon receiving this second letter, that it was time to provide for his own safety, and for revenge. He accordingly sent Man Singh, the jemadar of his hurkarus, to Raja Man Singh, to ask, in the event of the Ameer's restoring his affairs, what he might expect. The Raja was in the height of distress, and humble as possible, indeed he had no one at the time to look to but God. He wrote with his own hand in reply, that he would pay four lakhs and fifty thousand rupees per mensem, besides taking a brigade into permanent service, and would further give the Ameer a Jageer of four lakhs for kitchen expences, and confer Jageers also on his principal officers. The Ameer keeping the letter, said, I am going from this place immediately, the Raja will see what will follow, but let him write to Singee Induraj, who is in the hills towards Ajmeer, to co-operate with me. The Raja lost no time in doing so.

Surjee Rao Ghatkea, Doulut Rao Sindheea's father-in-law, had left the Jypoor service in consequence of a quarrel with Ambajee, and sending his troops into Oodeepoor, had come in person with a few attendants to settle his affairs with the Durbar. The Ameer came to an understanding with him; then mounting his palkee, and causing himself to be taken in front of Raja Jugut Singh's tents, he called out, "I have kept my compact with you to this day. I now cast off my engagement; and for the designs you and your officers have for my ruin—here am I with my three hundred horse, and here you with your three hundred thousand fighting men, settle the matter when and where you please, and so farewell." The Raja hearing this bravado of the Ameer's, sent at first Khooshhal

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Singh (1) Darogah, to soothe him and make excuses for his own conduct; but the Ameer not trusting his fair words and promises, went off, taking Surjee Rao Ghatkea with him, and so came to his own army which was at Beesulpoor. It happened, that while the Ameer was at Joudhpoor, the camp being on the bank of a small stream, the water of it rose one night so high (2) as to be over the men's waists, on the ground of encampment: much property was injured and washed away by the torrent, and some lives were lost. But the loss was not serious, and warned by what had happened, the army had shifted ground. The Ameer taking the command of his troops, marched immediately to Peepar, (3) and plundered the place, besides levying a contribution from those who escaped pillage. Next morning he again marched, and from the villages along the line of his route, levied twenty thousand rupees, and so came to Bheerounda, (4) seven or eight kos from Meertha, and there encamped. Bapoo Sindheea being at no great distance from this ground, the Ameer made overtures of concert with him, and here he was joined by Singee Induraj, who came with his two hundred horse from the hills towards Ajmeer, under Man Singh's instructions.

In the mean time, Bukhshee Sheeo Lal had been detached after the Ameer, by Raja Jugut Singh, with a force of fifty thousand horse and foot, including some

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(1) خوشحال سنگه

(2) From this passage and from what follows, it is evident that the rainy season had set in at the time of the Ameer's rupture with the Jypoor Durbar. This fixes the date about the end of June, or beginning of July, 1807, which corresponds with the report of the Dehli Resident, that the Ameer was in open arms against Jypoor on the 7th July, 1807.

(3) پیپار (4) بهیرونده

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of the Raja's special troops, and he was further reinforced by the Hydurabad Afghans, who had formerly been in Holkur's service. They were on duty towards Palee, but had been called in for this service. The Jypoor General came to a place about ten or twelve kos from the Ameer's ground. Ambajee Inglia now wrote pressingly to Bapoo Sindheea, and to Jean Baptiste, to assist with all their forces in putting down the Ameer, and to co-operate with the Bukhshee for the purpose. The Ameer, however, had, as before stated, opened a negociation with Bapoo Sindheea, and ascertained his inclinations to be favorable to himself. Singee Induraj was the medium, through whom the negociation was carried on, and he brought a message, asking a personal meeting with few attendants. The Ameer accordingly went with five hundred horse, and met Bapoo Sindheea, and pointed out to him, that he had now an opportunity of establishing with ease an ascendancy in Joudhpoor, and such another occasion would never recur. Bapoo Sindheea lent himself to the proposition, but hesitated a little, as if afraid of being asked for a promise to divide the territory. The Ameer saw what was passing in his mind, and said, in order to satisfy him on that point—"If you determine to aim at this worthy object of ambition, there are two ways of setting about it. You must either undertake it on your own account and take me into pay, or let me do it on my own account, and yourself receive money for your services in the cause. But what have I to do with territory?—I am a soldier of fortune, and desire only my pay." Bapoo Sindheea's doubts being thus satisfied, he asked the Ameer what compact he had entered into with Raja Man Singh. The Ameer told him four lakhs and fifty thousand per mensem, and a brigade to be entertained in permanent service. Bapoo

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Sindheea then said, he would give two lakhs and fifty thousand per mensem. The Ameer being bent on gaining him at all hazards, said, "I would even have taken less." Thus the affair was brought to the desired issue, and written engagements were interchanged. It was agreed, that both armies should march next morning to attack the Jypoor Bukhshee Sheeolal. In the mean time, a dawk hurkaru carried intelligence to Raja Jugut Singh, that something was in progress between the Ameer and Bapoo Sindheea, and the Raja with his Dewan Raee Chund, immediately sent for Ambajee Inglia and Siwaee Singh to inform them of the circumstance, and consult what was to be done. These two came off forthwith on dromedaries, all the way to Bapoo Sindheea's camp without stopping, and Ambajee, who was a cunning man, dressed himself like a Jogee, and said to Bapoo Sindheea —"If you link yourself with this Ameer, I shall give up the world and turn Fuqeer. You cannot but know what reproaches you will incur for this with Doulut Rao." Siwaee Singh, of hated memory, next took up the conversation, and said, he was ready to pay whatever Bapoo Sindheea might require for the present expences of his troops, but for him to change sides in the manner proposed, and to be duped to serve the Ameer's purposes, would be highly discreditable. Bapoo Sindheea beginning now to fear, that if he prosecuted the design meditated with the Ameer, Doulut Rao would be irretrievably offended, and would work his ruin, was won over by Ambajee, and so withdrew from the compact he had made with the Ameer.

In the mean time, the Ameer had heard of the coming of these two negociators to Bapoo Sindheea, and going to him along with Singee Induraj and the other Rathors, he asked him plainly whether he intended to keep his

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engagement. Bapoo Sindheea said he could not help himself. Ambajee and Siwaee Singh were in Bapoo's tents when the Ameer came, and were about to move away in alarm at seeing him enter, but Bapoo Sindheea re-assured them, saying, you need fear no treachery from the Ameer: take care only there be none on your side. The Ameer, on hearing Bapoo Sindheea recant his engagement, said, addressing himself to Singee Induraj,—"A wise man was once asked how many religions and how many hells there were, and he answered the religions are few, but the hells are many, for every lying mouth is a pit of hell." Bapoo on hearing this, felt the rebuke, and dropped his head into his chest. The Ameer then rising, said to the Rathors who had come with Singee Induraj,—"Let all of you, who are so disposed, come with me to the battle: I ask not for the company of the unwilling: let such return to their homes. If, even none of you join me, still will I not desert the cause of Raja Man Singh, or withhold my aid, so long as I have any to offer." The Singee on hearing this, said, "I will return to the Bukhree hills and collect my men, and bring them all to join you,"—but the Ameer rose and said, "Let those who desire to display their manhood, join immediately, for I go from this to the fight." Thakoor Sheeonath Singh, (1) of Kochawun, who was a brave and shrewd man, being amongst those to whom these words were addressed, rose and joined the Ameer with about five hundred Rathors, and so did some inferior Sirdars. But Sooltan Singh, (2) of Humaj, Keshuree Singh, (3) of Ansob (or Asop,) and Bukhtawur Singh, (4) of Amboha, with other Rathors

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(1) ٹھاکر شیو ناتھہ سنگھہ کو چاون والہ (2) سلطان سنگھہ هماج والہ

(3) کیسریسنگھہ ا نسوب والہ (4) بختاورسنگھہ ا نبوہ والہ

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dependent on Joudhpoor, hesitated and held back upon different excuses. Next morning the Ameer marched, with Sheeonath Singh in company, to Pookur, where he was joined by the Rusalas and brigade of Surjee Rao Ghatkea, which had been ordered up by him from Mewar. Sheeo Lal Bukhshee came after the Ameer, and encamped at Govindgurh, (1) about ten kos from Pookur. The Ameer having effected his junction with Surjee Rao's troops, marched next day by Hurmara to Hursolee, (2) in Kishengurh. The enemy came still in pursuit, and when the Ameer continued his march from Hursolee in the night, at about three hours before day-light, the Jypoor army came upon him before he had well left his ground, and some skirmishing began. The Ameer upon this ordered his reserve and baggage, with the brigade of Surjee Rao, commanded by Heera Singh, (3) to retire into the Kishengurh country, and there to wait further orders. He then, with his own horse, Surjee Rao's Rusalas and Sheonath's men, continued his march for four kos into the Jypoor country, drawing on Sheeo Lal Bukhshee, and skirmishing with his troops as he marched. The army halted at a village of Jypoor, in consequence of the enemy's gaining at this time an advantage, and finding it impossible to proceed, because the ground had become so soft, wet, and slippery from the heavy rain that fell, that the horses could scarcely move: some of them, indeed, sunk up to the hocks in the soft black soil. The Ameer, therefore, coming to a halt, was considering what next should be done, when a hurkaru brought him intelligence, that in consequence of the rain the brigade and reserves had been unable to move, and

(1) گوبند گڈھ (2) هرسولي (3) هيرا سنگه

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were then but two kos off. The Ameer being somewhat annoyed at this, sent more positive orders for the reserve and brigade to move into Kishengurh. Their tents and equipages were all wet, but with extreme discomfort and in some confusion they made the march towards Kishengurh. The Ameer had two light brass guns with him with which he opened on the enemy, and held them in check, but after some discharges of round shot, he sent them also away to join the infantry. He then rode alone towards the enemy to reconnoitre, but found the ground every where so soft and bad, that he determined not to come to action (1) there. The enemy were also much incommoded by the rain and wet, and had halted in consequence. The taste they had had of the Ameer's brass guns, which they supposed still to be with him, induced them to keep at a respectful distance. They accordingly sent the Ameer's father-in-law, Mohummud Ayaz Khan, who was serving in the Jypoor army, to negociate with the Ameer for his evacuating the country, saying, they wanted nothing else. The Ameer made an appearance of yielding, in order to gain the advantage of moving without molestation. He then marched in the height of the rain, and rejoined his reserve, which was six kos off in the Kishengurh country. As no one in the camp had been able to pitch a tent in consequence of the rain and wet, the Ameer passed the night in extreme discomfort. Next morning, he marched with the brigade and reserves to Todurnee, (2) in Jypoor, while the Jypoor army encamped at Bhagee. (3) Next day, again marching, he went to Maheen Bunod Nugree, (4) a place of his own territory

(1) This affair took place on the 3d August, 1807.

(2) ټوډرني (3) بهاګی (4) ماهين بنود نګري

(4) There are no places with names at all like these in any existing Maps.

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under Tonk. Establishing his camp there, he started with a few troops to bring up Mookhtar-ood-Doula Mohummud Shah Khan, whom, as before stated, he had ordered from Seronj into Tonk with two brigades, viz. those of Lal Singh (1) and of Mehtab Khan, (2) and who, conformably with these orders, had established the Ameer's authority in Tonk, and was then encamped at Jhulaee (3) in Jypoor. The Ameer went over to that camp and explained the real state of things to Mookhtar-ood-Doula, and sending for the officers of both brigades, he addressed them to this effect:—"You have hitherto received your pay regularly, but have had no share of the labours, and dangers, and fatigues of fighting and campaigning—I have reserved you especially for an occasion like the present. Your courage and fidelity will now be put to the test—if you acquit yourselves well, you shall have two months' pay issued immediately. But if you do not feel disposed to take part in the conflict, and doubt your ability to behave with credit, say so at once." The men and officers upon this made great protestations of their determination to show themselves worthy of favor, and true to their salt, and of their readiness to face any danger or fatigue the Ameer might put them to. The Ameer deriving much confidence from the disposition he found in the men and officers, ordered Mohummud Shah Khan to move next morning to Ranoulee, (4) in Tonk, with both brigades, and promised to join him there with all his forces. Mookhtar-ood-Doula showed much zeal and devotion on this occasion, and the Ameer returned to his own camp that night. Next morning the Ameer moved his army to the banks of a small stream, which is about a kos and a half from Ranoulee, and there a junction was effected

(1) لعل سنگه (2) مهتابخان (3) جهلايه (4) رانولي

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with Mohummud Shah Khan. From thence, the army moved to Todurnee in Jypoor, not far from Madhoo-rajpoor, and only two kos from the Jypoor encampment. On the following morning, the Ameer marched in order of battle to bring the Bukhshee to action, and was met half way by the Jypoor troops, between whom and the Ameer a cannonade and musquetry-fire was exchanged for several hours. It rained all day, and in the night also which followed, so the battle was brought to no decisive issue. The Ameer and his troops bivouacked on the ground, ready to resume the fighting next morning, while the Jypoor troops returned to their tents, supposing the Ameer's army would do the same. The Ameer said his prayers at day-light, and made a special supplication to the God of Battles (1) for victory. He then made the following dispositions. Lal Singh's brigade, with the heavy guns, were posted in front of his great standard elephant, and the Ameer remained a little in the rear of the artillery and infantry, with the elite of his horse. On his right hand, he posted the Afreedee and Rampoor Rusaladars, and their troops, with the brigade of Mehtab Khan; while on the left, he posted Sheeonath Singh's Rathors, and Surjee Rao with Heera Singh's brigade. In this order, the battle commenced, and the troops were soon hotly engaged, and the conflict was waged on both sides with such heat and animosity, that the bird of sense soon left its nest in the brain of the combatants, and the earth trembled with the thunder of the artillery. At this period, the Rampoor and Afreedee Rusaladars, along with the brigade of Mehtab

(1) This action took place on the 18th August, 1807, and is said by the Resident at Dehlee to have been gained principally through the defection to the Ameer of the Afghan horse in the Jypoor service. The battle was fought near Madhoo-Rajpoora.

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Khan, advanced to attack the enemy, but were met by Meerza Sabir Beg's (1) battalions, having their artillery prepared with drag ropes, and these opened on them with such a destructive fire of grape, as to produce great slaughter in the ranks of the assailants. The brigade began to waver, and the ground was wet and slippery, so as to be most unfavorable for cavalry to act. The attack thus failed, and this wing of the Ameer's army was beaten back, but a few of the infantry remained in a hollow, under cover, concealed from the enemy. The Ameer seeing this came down from his elephant, and mounted his horse named Nutwah,(2) which was both fleet and active, and rode immediately to the scene of the confusion, calling out to the artillery men of Lal Singh's brigade, to open with the heavy guns on the enemy's reserves. Thence riding on to Sheeonath Singh's men, and to Surjee Rao's troops, he passed the word for them to follow him to the charge, and though the ground was heavy and slippery, and the horses feet sunk into the soil nearly to the hocks, he persevered in his charge. By the aid of the Providence of God, the shot from the heavy guns told on the reserves, and did considerable execution, creating great confusion there, and thus the moment was particularly favorable for a charge.

VERSE.

The Ameer who planned the battle field,
His squadron for the charge has wheeled :
The soil was stiff with recent rain,
Few horsemen could his pace maintain ;
But Nutwah bore the Ameer, who, leading,
Rode on, his footing little heeding,

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(1) میرزا صابر بیگ (2) نٹوہ

(2) Nutwah means a juggler, or conjuror.

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For wet or dry, or soft, or hard,
Neither the horse nor rider cared.
Outstripping all, thus rode the Ameer,
Mohummud Fuqeer only near—
A Khan was he of the Afghan race,
Worthy to fill this honored place,
Close he kept by his leader's side,
Seeming his shadow. While thus they ride,
The Khan says to th' Ameer, "Look round,
We are alone on this battle ground—
Before, behind, not one is nigh,
To aid us here save God on high."
The Ameer just cast one look about,
Then to his henchman thus spoke out,
"God is my help in all time and place,
Talk not to me of slackening pace,
Forward's the word." To the thick of the fray,
In rear of Sabir's corps rushed they—
It chanced the Chief of noble mien
By the men of Mehtab Khan was seen,
In the fight they saw the bold Ameer,
While they lay hid in the hollow near—
"Shame! Shame!" they cried "on us that cower,
And leave our Chief in the enemy's power."
Up they have started, and cheering loud,
Forward to succour him they crowd.
High rose the star of the great Ameer
For Meerza Sabir himself to the rear,
Came from the ranks of his men in rage,
T'encounter alone this Chief of the age;
Close up, with pistol cocked, he came,
Mortal his purpose, less steady his aim.
God interposed the Ameer to shield,
Wide flew the bullet o'er the field;
Not so the spear in the Champion's hand,
He strikes: the Meerza rolls on the sand,
Wounded and bleeding a captive he lies,
Appalled at the sight the Pultun flies—
Thus fell defeat on the Bukhshee's band,
God sent it from the Ameer's own hand.

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In short, the horse Nutwah, carried his master so well through the wet, and mud, and heavy ground, that he seemed like a fish flying through the water, and the Ameer, in consequence, far outstripped all his companions, none but Fuqeer Mohummud Khan, Rusaladar, a very brave man, was near, who kept by him and pointed out to him at last that he was quite alone, telling him to look round, he would find nobody near but God. The Ameer answered, "We must depend on God's Providence in all things. How is it possible to think now of retreating?" The Khan deriving fresh courage from these words, continued his advance along with the Ameer, until they came close up to a battalion of the enemy, which immediately delivered its fire, but without effect. The Ameer and his companion, who seemed to be under the special protection of the Deity, both escaped unhurt. It is true, that owing to the rain being then heavy the fire was not very effectual, inasmuch as many of the musquets did not go off. The Ameer, however, being so completely alone, did not like to charge the battalion in front, but rode round and got into their rear. At this time a considerable body of Mehtab Khan's men, who, in the charge at the commencement of the action, had taken shelter from the grape in a hollow, as stated above, seeing the courage and exertions of the Ameer in person, felt shame at their own cowardice, and said to one another, "Here are we skulking, and hiding ourselves in corners, when our master is there alone fighting the battle:" they accordingly ran out, and renewed the action with the battalion. It so happened, that while the Ameer was in the rear, as mentioned, of Meerza Sabir Beg's battalions, the Meerza seeing him, rode up close, and fired a pistol at him, but as Providence had the Ameer under its special protection that day, the pistol miss-

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ed him, and the Ameer riding at the Meerza, struck him to the ground with his unerring spear, and then charging like a fierce lion into the enemy's ranks, he began dealing about him with sword and spear. The men, being dispirited at the fall of their leader and without a commandant, became panick-stricken, and took to a hasty flight. Such was the alarm and disorder, that although the Ameer was alone, he rode after whole bodies, and on calling out to them to throw away their weapons, they did so, even to their shields. The main body of the Ameer's horse, and also his infantry now came up, particularly Mehtab Khan's brigade, and the victory was completed with great slaughter to the enemy. Sheeonath Singh's people too, who had hitherto stood apart, and taken no share in the action, were shamed by the Ameer's calling out to them, that while he was exposing himself, they kept aloof, and they too came forward and exerted themselves. In short, the enemy's battalions of his left wing were utterly routed, and the army seeing it took to flight in confusion. The only troops that made a show of further resistance were two battalions, with four guns, under a Furingee, named Khyrat Museeh.(1) Shuhamut Khan,(2) Vajid Khan,(3) and Goorgeen Beg,(4) with some Kychaha(5) horse, also showed face at some little distance on the field of battle, and some of their horse were posted in a village between the two armies.

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(1) خیرات مسیح

(1) Khyrat Museeh Khan was the son of a native woman by a French officer, and hence is called a Furingee. He was brought up at Jypoor. The name is Mahommedan, and probably his creed too.

(2) شہامت خان (3) واجد خان (4) گورگین بیگ

(5) سواران کچھواہہ

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The Ameer reflected that unless this village were carried, the victory would not be complete. The horse attached to his own brigades charged home into the village, and drove the enemy's horse out on the other side. The Ameer being satisfied with this, restrained his men from further urging the enemy, saying, "You must advance with prudence, for if you are checked it may give a turn to affairs, that will spoil all our victory." Soon after this, the body of infidels above mentioned, began to march off, for, though at first they showed a disposition still to dispute the field, they saw at length there was no hope of restoring the fortune of the day. Upon this, Mohummud Umur Khan (1) of Rampoor, with whom were about one hundred horse, came up to the Ameer, and said, "With your leave, I will cut that body of the enemy to pieces." The Ameer forbad his going against them, but he would not be restrained. On his approaching them, however, the party halted, and said, "We can never think of surrendering our arms to you, you had better let us alone, and go your ways;" whereupon the Khan returned without effecting his purpose.

The Ameer having gained a great victory, struck high the kettle-drums of triumph: sixty guns, seven elephants, with a great quantity of tents and other equipments, fell a prey to the Champions of the faith, and horses and camels innumerable. Meerza Sabir Beg having fallen wounded by the hand of the Ameer himself, the Ameer had him brought to his tents, and taken care of till his wounds were healed. His camp was pitched on the field of battle, and he passed the night there. He

(1) محمد عمر خان

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then wrote to Singee Induraj and to Raja Man Singh, and the Rathors, to say, that he had performed his share of the compact he had entered into with Raja Man Singh, that, without asking any thing in advance, he had entered upon the war and destroyed the enemy's army: but as they knew his difficulties for money, and he was about now to move against Raja Jugut Singh in person, they ought, both to join him in force, and to provide funds for his expences. Having dispatched these letters, a dawk hurkaru brought the Ameer word, that the defeated army of Jypoor was rallying at Sanganeer, (1) and in the city, the hired troops being at the former place, and the natives of Jypoor in the town. Upon learning this, the Ameer reflected, that there was no force at Jypoor for its protection, and by proceeding against the city he might, either in the way of contribution, or by plunder, obtain a large booty; accordingly he advanced to within five kos of the city, and two kos from Sanganeer, and there encamped. A sister of Raja Jugut Singh upon this sent the veil, with which her own head was usually covered, to the Ameer, with all humility, accompanied by a message to the effect, that there were none but women within the town, and no means of defence against the Ameer's conquering army, that she was a weak woman, the sister of Raja Jugut Singh, that she desired him (the Ameer) to treat her also as a sister, and so constituted him the guardian of her honor, that she hoped therefore he would take a money present, and leave the neighbourhood.(2) The Ameer felt proud at

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(1) سانگانیر

(2) According to the reports of the Resident at Dehlee, the Ameer withdrew from the neighbourhood of Jypoor, because he was not strong enough to do any thing against the place.

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receiving this message, and sent back for answer that she might remain in confidence. "Where men are, there do I wish to be: I ask no money present even from you, and as you are the sister of the Raja, so shall I always regard and respect you as my own sister." In short, marching from thence by Muazimabad (1) to Sambhur, he plundered that place, and then went to Kishengurh, where he had appointed Singee Induraj, Raja Man Singh's Bukhshee, to meet him with the Rathor forces, bringing all the money he could collect. As blessings innumerable came now all at once upon the Ameer's head, he learned, amongst other things, that a son was born to him from his second wife, the daughter of his preceptor's son Mohummud Ayaz Khan. There was no bound to the Ameer's delight at this joyful event, and it was celebrated with firing of guns, and with the music of kettle-drums and trumpets, and all manner of rejoicings.

[Here follow twenty-eight verses in the usual style, in honor of this auspicious event, they cannot be rendered into English.]

The ceremonies of rejoicing and congratulation being over, the Ameer set off with five hundred horse to Kishengurh, (2) whither Singee Induraj had invited him, to receive the money collected, and to be presented to the Rathor Chiefs. The Ameer divided the amount, which was a large sum, amongst the troops, and made gifts to the poor and to fuqeers, and here also there were revels and rejoicings, in which some days were

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(1) معظم آباد

(2) The Ameer was at Kishengurh on the 4th September, and kept the anniversary of the martyrdom of the great Ajmeer Saint Khajeh Mooyyun-ood-Deen on the 10th following in that city, next day he marched towards Meertha.

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spent. This assuredly was the happiest and most fortunate period of the Ameer's life, and thus the branch of his hopes brought various and plentiful fruit in the fortieth year of his age.

The Ameer had now determined to march against Raja Jugut Singh: sending, therefore, for Bukhshee Induraj and other Rathor Sirdars, he advised that they, uniting with the brigades of Mohummud Shah Khan and of Surjee Rao, should move upon Purbutsur and Nagor, and approach Joudhpoor by that route, while he went straight from Ajmeer with a light force, the Bukhshee approved the plan, and the advance to Joudhpoor was made accordingly, the infantry, &c. as indicated, marching by Purbutsur and Nagor, while the Ameer, with his horse and light troops, went by Pookur, but first he made a visit to the shrine at Ajmeer. It happened that on the night of his visiting the tomb he had a dream. He thought he saw tents pitched before those of his own army, and that on asking whose they were, he was told it was the host of Saints with the Khajeh, whose shrine is at Ajmeer, at their head, fighting for him in the good cause. He awoke from this sleep much refreshed, and felt assurance from it that Khajeh Moyyun-ood-Deen Chishtee was his ally and fellow champion. The Ameer had before great faith in the virtues of this shrine, and he now told his dream to all the people of his army, in order that they too might feel assured that his star was on the ascendant, and derive increased confidence in his future fortunes. The Ameer after this moved towards Meertha, ejecting the Jypoor garrisons from all the places in the Joudhpoor territory, and establishing his own in their stead. Singee Induraj and the Rathors did the same on the line of their advance, and further they wrote

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to cause a general rising against the Jypoor garrisons, advising, if possible, that the ears and noses of the men should be cut off, and the garrisons were generally so treated, and the Jypoor authority was universally put down. In this manner the infantry, continuing their advance, reached a place on the Nagor road, about seven kos from Meertha, when the Ameer was at the last named point.

Ambajee Inglia and Siwaee Singh, upon the defeat of Bukhshee Sheeolal, brought up to Joudhpoor the forces of Bapoo Sindheea and Jean Baptiste from Meertha, and consulted on their future plan of operations. Raja Jugut Singh consulted also in private with Dewan Raee Chund, and it was resolved by them that another general action with the Ameer was on no account to be sought: for the best troops of Jypoor, and those on which the State placed most reliance, had been defeated and destroyed, and all the garrisons had been ejected from the places they held in the Joudhpoor country. Their troops were consequently dispirited and weakened, in proportion as those of the Ameer were elated and reinforced. Besides the Rathors had now joined the Ameer, and the country was on his side, and the Jypoor Raja could place no dependance on his auxiliaries of that tribe, who were proverbially faithless. Again the Raja and his Dewan felt that they could not rely much on Bapoo Sindheea, who had so recently engaged himself with the Ameer. They accordingly determined between themselves, that their best plan was to break up the camp from before the fort of Joudhpoor, and return to their own country, and they made preparations to put this scheme in execution. Ambajee and Siwaee Singh guessing their design, did their utmost to restore them to confidence, promising vast things from

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their own exertions and co-operation, but the Raja and his Dewan placed little faith or reliance on their promises, or on the hopes they held out. The whole army, therefore, including Bapoo Sindheea's, Ambajee Inglia's and Siwaee Singh's troops, broke up from before Joudhpoor, and took the route of Nagor.(1) At the time of entering this place, the accursed Siwaee Singh, who had stirred up the whole of these troubles, said to Raja Jugut Singh, with a feeling of some vexation and remorse—"You are now returning to your own country: what is to become of me, who have incurred the hatred and irreconcileable enmity of Raja Man Singh, and have made myself odious before my tribe to serve you? Who is to give me protection?" The Raja and his Dewan endeavoured to comfort Siwaee Singh, and promised to leave Bapoo Sindheea, and Jean Baptiste, and other Sirdars, to look after his interests; besides which, they said, the fort of Nagor was a strong one, not easily captured; and the Jypoor Raja further promised to leave an army in the Shekhawatee country for his support, and to join it in person with a light force, in order to relieve him, in case he should be hard pressed at Nagor. Thus leaving Siwaee Singh at Nagor, the Raja marched and encamped next at Khutoo, (Kho) twenty-four kos from thence.

Bukhshee Induraj and the other Rathors of Raja Man Singh's party, learning this state of things, consulted with the Ameer as to the propriety of attacking the Jypoor army, while it was on march home dispirited, and of so being revenged upon Raja Jugut Singh for the evils he had brought upon their race and country. The Ameer

(1) Ambajee accompanied Raja Jugut Singh in his flight as far as Meda, about thirty miles from Jypoor—he then abruptly quitted him on the 4th October, and made towards Ajmeer.

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leaving his infantry behind, went by forced marches with all his cavalry to a place only five kos from the Raja's encampment, and there pitched his tents. The Raja was in great alarm at his vicinity, and sent a confidential person to Man Singh, the Ameer's jemadar of hurkarus, to beg of him to get the Ameer's leave to come for a few minutes to listen to a proposition that would be made to him: the jemadar went accordingly, and enquired what they wanted with him, the Raja said—"I have repented of the ill-treatment the Ameer received at my hands; I am rightly served for the neglect and breach of faith of which I was guilty, and the Ameer has his revenge; but it will be as well that the Ameer should find an excuse for not pressing my retreat further. If he will give up the pursuit, I shall remember it for life." He then gave a writing in his own hand to the jemadar to the effect, that what had happened was a just return to both. The Ameer reflected on receiving this proof of humility, that after all, the Raja of Jypoor was a great Sirdar, and it might be useful to place him under obligation. He accordingly sent a message, that if the Raja started for a long march, with all expedition that night, he should not be in his way to molest him. Accordingly, the Raja, with Dewan Raee Chund, Ambajee Inglia, and their armies, marched at about ten at night. Bukhshee Induraj and the Rathors hearing of it, beat their drums also for march, and sent word to the Ameer to move; but as he had no desire to reduce the Jypoor Raja to extremity, he pretended to be asleep, and sent back word by his servants making the necessity of rest his excuse. When the night was nearly over, he arranged that the dawk hurkarus should bring him intelligence, while Singee Induraj might be with him, announcing Raja Jugut Singh's arrival at some place, ten kos off. At the first

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dawn of morning, Bukhshee Induraj and the other Rathor Sirdars came to the Ameer to consult about the march, and in the midst of the consultation, the dawk hurkarus brought the intelligence agreed upon. The Ameer then turned to the Bukhshee, and said there can be no use in pursuing him now: he has got too long a start—what think you? The Bukhshee advised that some horse should be sent to continue the pursuit, and the Ameer sent some Pindaras, who plundered a little straggling baggage. But the Ameer, with the rest of his army, returned to Meertha, whence the Bukhshee went and waited on Raja Man Singh, while the Ameer was detained for a day or two by a mutiny of his troops. On the Bukhshee's arrival he was honored with a splendid khilat and the Dewan's office, and the Raja invited the Ameer to Joudhpoor, and gave him the Istuqbal, (1) and treated him with the highest honors, assigning him a garden for a residence, and entertaining him with dancing, and singing, and revels. He also called the Ameer to sit on the Musnud alongside of himself, and then rising with hands joined, presented the keys of his fort, and said—"This Raj is your's: you have restored it. How can I sufficiently shew my gratitude? All the world must acknowledge that there was nothing left me but this fort, when you took up my cause and re-assured me." The Ameer did all he could to give the Raja comfort, and said—"Here I restore your keys, and with them all your State and territory." The Raja professing the greatest obligations retired, and the Ameer remained at Joudhpoor. These events occurred in the Hejira year 1222. (2)

(1) Ameer Khan went to Joudhpoor, and had this interview with Raja Man Singh on the 25th October, 1807.

(2) 11th March 1807 to 27th February 1808.

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BOOK THE SEVENTH.

CHAPTER IV.

1807—1808.

Further mutiny of the Afghan troops—severities practised on the Ameer during his sickness—Raja Man Singh mediates a composition—The Ameer proceeds against Nagor—Siwaee Singh's death—Capture of Nagor, and flight of Dhokul Singh to Bikaneer.

THE Ameer having been received with so much attention by Raja Man Singh, resolved to remain at Joudhpoor for a time, in order to aid the Raja with his counsel in restoring the affairs of the Raj. One day, being unwell, he had proceeded through the city towards the fort of Joudhpoor, to sit with the Raja in a cool apartment adapted to the season, as was his custom, attended by some Afreedee Afghans and others, when these troublesome soldiers, not respecting the state of health the Ameer was in, but thinking the opportunity favorable for their purpose, began a clamour for pay, and placed him in Dhurna (1) to the

(1) The particular Dhurna resorted to on this occasion will, probably, have been a compulsory sitting in the sun all day, which, in the hot season at Joudhpoor, is no small present misery, and with sickness added, must have been intolerable.

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great danger of his life, for, besides the severity of present infliction, they denied him the power of taking his usual medicines for the illness he was labouring under. Life became to him nearly insupportable, and though the Rampoor Sirdars having consulted together, went up into the fort to try and persuade the Afreedees to be more merciful, and used their best endeavours in the Ameer's favor, coming even to blows with the Afreedees, and killing two of their number, yet would those merciless men not remit any part of their treatment, but shutting themselves up in an enclosure of the house where they were, and holding daggers to the Ameer's breast, they threatened to take his life. On this occasion, the Ameer was indebted to Raja Man Singh for his salvation, for he broke open the roof, and reduced the mutineers to submission, by bringing against them a superior force, and then paid near a lakh of rupees for the adjustment of their arrears. Thus in the end the Ameer procured his liberation, and Jumsheed Khan, Mohummud Saeed Khan, Kootub-ood-Deen Khan, Moonuwur Khan, and the other Afreedee Rusaladars receiving their arrears, went off to Meertha and quitted the Ameer's service.*

Soon after this, Raja Man Singh sending for the Ameer, said, that although his obligations to him were such, that as long as he lived he should never forget, or be able to requite them; yet, as Siwaee Singh was still holding out at Nagor, and Dhokul Singh was there set up as the pretended rightful heir of the Raj, to the prejudice of his own authority, he could not be quite satisfied, until these Chiefs were subdued. The Ameer said—"God is the disposer of events, and all powerful. Having already done so much for you, what is there in this service that it should not also be accomplished?" The Raja

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was much assured by the Ameer's readiness to undertake the business—and, thereupon, executed a written engagement, stipulating to pay four lakhs and fifty thousand rupees per mensem for the expences of the army, to assign Pergunas yielding four lakhs per annum as a personal Jageer to the Ameer's son, Vuzeer-ood-Doula, and further, to take a brigade into permanent service at an annual charge of thirteen lakhs of rupees, and to distribute Jageers of a lakh and a half to the Ameer's Sirdars and officers, such as his father-in-law, Mohummud Ayaz Khan, and Gholamee Khan, also to Raee Himmut Raee, and Meerza Hajee Beg.

The Ameer having concluded this negociation, started with only five hundred horse, and made a march in the direction of Nagor: the main army being somewhat out of humour, and distressed for money to clear themselves from Joudhpoor, came up the following day. The whole were collected, however, by the time the camp arrived at Khurnal, (1) which is one stage only from Nagor. The Hydurabad Afghans, who had left Juswunt Rao Holkur's service, and subsequently entered that of Jypoor, came here and joined the Ameer's standard, making altogether a force of twenty thousand men or more. The Ameer had left the brigades of Lal Singh and Mehtab Khan, under the Nuwab Mohummud Shah Khan, at Meertha, where they had been employed, since the battle with Bukhshee Sheo Lal, in reducing the country to obedience, and punishing the Zumeendars and Thakoors who adhered to Siwaee Singh and Dhokul Singh in rebellion against the authority of Raja Man Singh. He had further

(1) کھرنال

given the command of his personal guards to Colonel Mohun Singh, (1) who had recently returned from his home and joined the Ameer. These troops, with the horse immediately attached to the Ameer, had been sent along with Mohummud Ghufoor Khan, (2) a relation of the Ameer's father-in-law, Mohummud Ayaz Khan, to make collections in Kooroo or Koorooar, (3) a dependency of Joudhpoor.

By way of stratagem, and to lay a net for the wily Chief he had to deal with, the Ameer sent Meerza Hajee Beg, (4) an independant (Yeka) Suwar of much intelligence, to negociate with Siwaee Singh of Phookurun. Through him it was insinuated to the Rathor, that notwithstanding all Raja Man Singh's apparent favors and good offices, especially in the matter of the Dhurna, when he saved the Ameer's life from the violence of the Afreedee mutineers, still there was dissatisfaction felt by the Ameer at his short cash payments, and if Siwaee Singh desired it, Dhokul Singh might be put on the musnud of Joudhpoor in the room of Man Singh, for a due consideration.

To Bapoo Sindheea, who was also at Nagor, the Ameer sent Namdar Khan Jemadar (5) to propose a meeting for the consideration of matters of mutual advantage. The Chief was at the time on bad terms with Siwaee Singh, in consequence of the irregularity of the

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(1) کرنیل موهن سنگه (2) محمد غفور خان

(3) علاقه کوروار متعلقه جودهپور (4) میرزا حاجی بیگ

(5) نامدار خان جمعدار

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latter's provision of funds for the payment of the Sindheea contingent, and for his general bad faith and selfishness; for he had invited many of Lukhwa Dada's officers under promises which he never performed, so much so as to have entirely lost character with all the supporters of his cause. Bapoo Sindheea indicated through the Ameer's agent, that he would meet him at Khuwan, midway between Nagor and Khurnal, (1) to which the Ameer agreed: he accordingly went to Khuwan with an escort of a thousand horse, and there represented to Bapoo Sindheea, that Siwaee Singh had deceived Raja Jugut Singh to ruin, and was doing the same by him, that if he was wise he would get out of the connection as quickly as possible, make his peace with Raja Man Singh and leave the Joudhpoor country; and the Ameer concluded by tendering some aid in money, if it should be indispensable, to enable his troops to move. Bapoo Sindheea replied to this overture, that the Soobadaree of Joudhpoor was his—and if the Ameer would undertake to pay him half of what he might realize from it, besides discharging the present arrears of his troops, he was ready to march immediately. The Ameer, on hearing this proposition, thought to himself, that the man's feet were somewhat longer than his blanket, and, while he was so unreasonable, there could be no coming to terms with him. With considerable art, therefore, in order to circumvent him, he began an intrigue with Mooneer Khan, Khoda Bukhsh Khan, (2) Dara Khan, Deendar Khan, Fyzoollah Khan, (3) of Puchpuha, and

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(1) کھوان کہ مابین ناگور و کھرنال است

(2) منیر خان خدا بخش خان

(3) دارا خان دیندار خان فیض اللہ خان پچ پھیہ

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others, who, to the number of about one thousand Suwars, were in service with Bapoo Sindheea at Nagor, but dissatisfied at the time from delay in the payment of their arrears. These men happened now to be on escort duty with Bapoo Sindheea, and the Ameer instigated them to raise a tumult and mutiny. They did so, in consequence, and got Bapoo Sindheea into their power, subjecting him to considerable severities, and not letting the members of his family or his private servants approach him. The Ameer, fighting still the battle of circumvention, came up now with his troops, and professing to be very angry with the Afghans, said, "You have availed yourselves of the opportunity of Bapoo Sindheea's coming to meet me to seize him: This I must resent as an indignity to myself." The Afghans said—"We have a right to get our arrears as we can, we will not liberate him till they are paid." The Ameer then went with two or three attendants to Bapoo Sindheea, and said—"There is no getting the Afghans to consent to your release without a present payment, which neither you nor I are well able to provide. On the other hand," continued the Ameer, "my credit is concerned at your capture under these circumstances, something, therefore, must be done: what do you advise?" Bapoo Sindheea, who had been very severely treated by the Afghans, said—"At all events, get me out of the hands of these villains." The Ameer asked what was due to the Afghans, and how much was to be received from Siwaee Singh. He said—"I owe them about three lakhs, and have the same amount to receive from that Chief." The Ameer then said—"If you will engage to leave the Joudhpoor territory, I will take the debt on myself." Bapoo Sindheea agreed to the condition, but said—"Jean Baptiste is here at Nagor along with me: how will he be able to get away without receiving

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his arrears?" The Ameer asked how much might be due to him, and the Bapoo said, a lakh of rupees. The Ameer said—"I can give him an assignment for that sum on the revenues of Asop, a dependency of Joudhpoor, he may get it from thence. If he does not like what I propose thus in good will for you, let him levy his arrears as he can." Bapoo Sindheea being completely over-reached, went away, professing great obligations to the Ameer, in order to persuade Jean Baptiste to agree to the terms. He was at the time encamped at Sondwah,(1) five kos from Nagor, and sending thither for Siwaee Singh, they told him of the terms agreed upon. Jean Baptiste said, at the consultation held, that, if the Ameer would come in person, and add an undertaking to be answerable for the lakh of rupees, if it were not realized from Asop, he should agree at once. The Ameer hearing of this, and thinking his object gained, went with a few troops to give to Jean Baptiste the assurance he desired, and though he was warned to be careful of treachery, he paid no attention, but went boldly to Bapoo Sindheea's encampment, and satisfied both Jean Baptiste, and the Afghans, to whom he gave the guarantee he had promised of their arrears, and then returned to his own ground at Khurnal. Bapoo Sindheea and Jean Baptiste immediately broke up their camp, and moved towards Asop, where they levied eighty thousand rupees of the lakh, and forty thousand rupees more from the villages and towns round about, and then went to Ajmeer. Surjee Rao Ghatkea had also separated his troops, and Heera Singh's brigade, from the Ameer at Joudhpoor, and he too marching on Ajmeer, met there Bapoo Sindheea, so the field was now open to the Ameer without a rival.

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(1) سوندوہ

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Bapoo Sindheea's Afghans had come over to the Ameer, from whom their arrears were to be realized. With their troops and his own, he marched from Khurnal to Sondwah, which is five kos from Nagor, and there encamped, waiting for Mookhtar-ood-Doula's force, consisting of the brigades of Lal Singh and Mehtab Khan, and for the other troops, which were on detached service in different parts of the Joudhpoor territory, under Colonel Mohun Singh, and Mohummud Ghufoor Khan. In this interval, the intrigue of Meerza Hajee Beg, the Ameer's agent with Siwaee Singh, began to work: that Chief agreed to pay forty lakhs of rupees, and the agent brought a proposition to this effect in writing from Siwaee Singh. The Ameer being determined to bring this wily Chief into his net one way or other, replied, "The amount will do, but how is it to be paid? What are the instalments and periods of payment?" Siwaee Singh upon this agreed to pay thirteen lakhs, in as many days from the date of his first interview with the Ameer, and the remaining twenty-seven lakhs on the day of Dhokul Singh's instalment, and Raja Man Singh's expulsion, and he added that if Mookhtar-ood-Doula Mohummud Shah Khan would be the guarantee of the engagement, he was ready immediately to give the Ameer the interview. The Ameer consented to all this, and sent Mookhtar-ood-Doula to Siwaee Singh, who required this officer to give him a guarantee on oath, whereupon he came away to ask the Ameer, what he was to do. "Determine," said the Ameer, "for yourself what is best for my service, and for the cause of the army of the faith." Although the known perfidy of Siwaee Singh, and the many attempts he had made to undermine and ruin the Ameer, were quite sufficient to justify the getting rid of him by treachery, and indeed to make any means employed against

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him, meritorious, still, in order to satisfy certain doubts and scruples which the Nuwab Mookhtar-ood-Doula had conceived on the score of morality, all the officers united in declaring, that to shed the blood of an enemy to the faith, by treachery, when necessary for the good of the general cause of the faith, and its army, or for the service of one's Chief, was lawful. Thus the Nuwab was brought to agree. The place fixed for the meeting to complete the compact with Siwaee Singh was Markeen Saheb's house, (1) midway between Nagor and Sondwah. Siwaee Singh, the accursed, came thither with one or two thousand horse, in perfect confidence and security, and Mookhtar-ood-Doula met him and made the oaths required. But as Siwaee Singh was not satisfied unless the Ameer also set his hand to the compact, and as he urged Mookhtar-ood-Doula to send for him for the purpose, the Ameer too went, and gave him his hand to an engagement to this effect; that if Siwaee Singh should keep his promise, and be punctual in the payment of the money stipulated, the compact should stand as arranged, but upon any the least failure on his part, it was to be null and void: the Ameer said further, "Truth is a looking-glass to shew the face, and according to the Hindee proverb, *hur jyse ko tysa*, every one has his match—if there lives in your heart any remnant of the old enmity, you must be prepared to stand the consequences." The accursed Siwaee Singh was satisfied with these ambiguous assurances, and to outward appearance, forming a wolf's friendship, came and pitched his tents near the Ameer's encampment, along with his troops and attendants. But the dust of hate and rancour was not washed from his mind, and he was watch-

(1) مکان مارکین صاحب

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ing an opportunity to circumvent the Ameer. Anop Ram Chobee, (1) Raja Man Singh's vakeel in attendance on the Ameer, wrote to the Raja, informing him of the intrigue which was carried on, and of the result apparent in Siwaee Singh's having joined the camp, and he added, that it would now seem that the Ameer had engaged himself to seat Dhokul Singh on the musnud of Joudhpoor. The Raja saw through the plot, and feared not for the Ameer's fidelity; still, to keep up appearances, he wrote in reply, "Let him do his worst." In the mean time, Siwaee Singh, whose heart was not clean from the rust of hate and enmity, and who, notwithstanding the oaths interchanged, was still planting the seeds of treachery and guile, hired four assassins for one hundred gold mohurs, and the promise of a village to each in Jageer, to lay in wait for the Ameer and slay him: and the four men, for the execution of their wicked purpose, came to the camp, and professing to be seeking service, and to be of the Mohummudan faith, put up at a tent pitched by the Ameer's father-in-law, Mohammud Ayaz Khan, for the entertainment of strangers, in front of his own. As the scent of the flower of wickedness will betray itself, though it be covered with a hundred folds of linen, it so happened that one of the faithful servants of Raja Man Singh, who was about Siwaee Singh as a spy, got to a knowledge of this plot, and let the Raja know of it, and he wrote to the Ameer a detailed account, with the names, and a description of the persons of the assassins, even to the fact of their coming into camp in the manner related. The Ameer being thus put on his guard, went in the night, followed by two or three khidmutkars, with a dagger in his hand, to

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(1) انوپ رام چوبی

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the tent of his father-in-law where the assassins were lying; and that he might not be recognized, he wrapped up his face in a handkerchief, and so creeping into the tent waked the miscreants, and sitting down as a stranger, asked them what their plans were. They replied, "We are looking out for service, and have no other plans in view." The Ameer said, "What you are looking out for is not service. You are come to assassinate the Ameer." They put on the appearance of alarm, and said, "What is this you say? are you bent on ruining us and spoiling our hopes and prospects, and getting us turned out of camp?" The Ameer replied—"Why do you conceal your purpose from me? Siwaee Singh has sent me to execute the same, and has told me of your coming, and of your having each received a hundred gold mohurs and a promise of a village in Jageer. I know all your real names—you are so and so, natives of such and such villages, I too have my hundred gold mohurs, and Siwaee Singh has told me to concert matters with you, which is the reason of my coming to you at this time in secret." They were silent at hearing this, and the Ameer saw that they had still some doubts, and required some pledge or further proof on his part, so he said in a low tone of voice, "Come to a distance from this place, and tell me all your plans, and I will communicate mine." They accordingly got up to go with the Ameer, and came out of the tent: the Ameer's servants, who were waiting outside with mushals, (links) joined the party upon a motion from him; whereupon they asked, who these were? upon which, the Ameer said "These are all fellow conspirators." When the Ameer had led them to a retired place outside the camp, he made them sit down, and asked what plan they had settled for the assassination. Each of them told a separate story—one was to slit the tent

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kunats, and so get at the Ameer when asleep,—another to endeavour to get enrolled amongst the personal servants and guards,—another was for attacking him openly as he went through the camp. Having now heard enough to satisfy himself of their purpose, the Ameer ordered the lamps to be brought forward, and then taking off the handkerchief which concealed his face, and showing himself, he said, "See, I am the person you have come to assassinate: Tell me now how you will effect your purpose?" Of a truth, the Divine protection watches over the great in this world, and their presence inspires awe: the four assassins fell on their knees trembling, and asked pardon and forgiveness. The Ameer released one of the four, in order that he might go and report what had happened to Siwaee Singh: the other three he took to his father-in-law, and committing them to his custody, told him to be more careful in future whom he admitted to his hospitality, and received into his tents. Mohummud Ayaz Khan made many excuses, and professed his entire ignorance, as to who or what the men were, and the Ameer then retired to his own tents.

The Ameer now reflected, that having this proof that Siwaee Singh was plotting for his assassination, notwithstanding the oaths interchanged between them, besides which, the first stipulated period had passed, and no money was forthcoming, he might fairly consider, that he was absolved entirely from his engagement, and free to pursue his own designs against that accursed one. Accordingly, going one day with a few attendants to his tents, the Ameer said, "The thirteen days are out, and you have not paid the thirteen lakhs: indeed twice the time has elapsed that was agreed upon, and you have paid nothing; my compact therefore is null and void: and in return for

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your conduct in this matter, I have come to tell you, that I am prepared to send you safe to Nagor, or where else you will." Siwaee Singh resorted to flattering speeches to soothe and appease the Ameer, but he made at the same time signs, and to his people whispered, that now was the time to get the better of the Ameer by treachery. The Ameer, however, was too deeply versed in the game of cunning to be so over-reached, and saw what was designed. Mounting, therefore, without giving them time to effect their purpose, he went immediately to his own tents, and thence in order to finish the game with this false one, he sent immediately Nuwab Mookhtar-ood-Doula Mohummud Shah Khan, and Raee Himmut Raee, to wait upon Siwaee Singh as in compliment, and to bring him to take leave of the Ameer.

VERSE.

Siwaee Singh has come to the tents of the Ameer,
He comes to the toils like a noose-stricken deer;
The troops are drawn out, not in open parade,
But concealed by kunats, and in close ambuscade;
Without—every tent rope is fast to its pin,
But all are in hand manned by Khlasees within;
The guards are all ready, with weapons all bright,
Not presented for honor, but loaded for fight;
The cannon are pointed, with matches in hand,
The cannoniers wait for the note of command.
The fife's thrilling tone is the signal assigned,
And to all the Ameer has their parts well defined;
When the fife shall strike up, every tent-rope must go,
And the tent be let fall on the heads of the foe;
And the mouths of the cannon, and grenadiers stout,
Be shown all at once to the escort without—
All now is arranged, and the net ready spread,
When the victim to make his last visit is led.
He comes with a plentiful suite of Rathors,
The Chiefs crowd with rudeness within the tent doors,

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While the rest of the escort remaining without,
Keep close to the tent with their eyes well about;
Nuwab Mookhtar-Doula has bad the Chief sit,
For occasion to go forth, he taxes his wit;
And Raee Himmut Raee is too wise to be snared,
He will just step and see if the khilat's prepared;
Both seek the Ameer, and report that their prey
Is fast in the toils, unsuspecting foul play.
"Strike up," said th' Ameer, to the fifer who stood,
With fife to his lip, "give the signal of blood!
Be the curtain now drawn!" The tent falls at the words,
The Khlasees as bidden have let go the cords,
All within are enveloped, and thus their fate meet,
The tent-fly to them is a death-winding-sheet;
And the grenadiers stand as for battle arrayed,
In the void are the cannon with matches displayed.
While the camp beats to arms, and with weapons on high,
The Rathors are surrounded, and all made to die.
Thus ever success crowns the plans of wise,
Mount! Mount! for Nagor! be that city the prize.
The place was soon won, none were there to command,
And large was the booty that there fell to hand.

The facts were simply as follows. When the accursed Siwaee Singh came with his escort of one or two thousand horse, he was brought to the Ameer's tent by the Nuwab Mookhtar-ood-Doula Mohummud Shah Khan, and by Raee Himmut Raee. The Ameer had pitched his large tent for the purpose, and they took him inside, where he went and sat down with all his Chiefs of note. The Suwars and foot men he had brought for escort, stood round the tent and outer kunats. The tent was the net the Ameer had spread for his prey. On one side, all the ropes of it were properly fastened to the pins, but within the enclosure on the opposite side they were held in hand, ready to be dropped at a signal, and all the space within the enclosed kunats was filled with cannon,

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pointed, with matches lighted, and the Ameer gave order, that on hearing a fife sound, the tent should be let fall on the heads of all within, and the artillery be discharged in the faces of the escort, while parties of men of known courage, should rush upon them and finish the whole. The plan succeeded completely. Upon the fated man being conducted to the tent of audience, the Nuwab Mookhtar-ood-Doula and Raee Himmut Raee went out, on the pretence of seeing if the dresses of honor and other things were all prepared; they came and reported to the Ameer that all was ready, and explained how the matter stood. The Ameer, being satisfied that he had got his victim fast in the net, gave the word to sound the fife. It sounded like the trumpet of the last day, and a confusion ensued like that of the day of Judgment. (1) The Khlasees immediately let go the tent ropes and jumped nimbly on one side, and the tent went down like a shot on the heads of the fated men within. The cannon were at the same time discharged at the tent and escort, and cut the whole to pieces, while the Ameer had placed detachments of select men from his battalions, ready in ambuscade, to rush in and finish them, and had further paraded many of his special horse in mail, having for days before made a practice of reviewing them at that hour and spot, in order to prevent suspicion. Thus the whole party were put to the sword, and the Ameer riding off to Nagor, gained admittance at once to the city, and established his authority there, capturing an immense

(1) This atrocious act of cruel villainy was perpetrated on the 4th April, 1808, and astonished even Rathor perfidy. In the promiscuous slaughter, occasioned by the firing of grape through the tent as it was falling, several of the Ameer's men met their death. The nautch girls and their attendants, who were in the tent, were enveloped with the rest, and some Puthan Sirdars also were slain along with the Rajpoots. The life of friend or foe was but of small account with the Ameer, when a political object was to be gained.

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booty, and struck the kettle-drums and trumpets of victory.

Raja Dhokul Singh, and the Bikaneer Raja, and Siwaee Singh's sons, who were all in Nagor, fled precipitately to Bikaneer and Phookurun, and the Ameer having settled a contribution upon Nagor, staid there some days. Leaving afterwards several battalions there from different brigades under Mohummud Ghufoor Khan, he returned himself to Joudhpoor, where he was extremely well received by Raja Man Singh, to whose officers he made over the fort and city of Nagor. The Raja professed himself to be under such obligations for this service, that he assigned for the Ameer's residence some houses within the fort of Joudhpoor, and of the sum of thirty-five lakhs which it had been agreed in writing that the Ameer was to receive for getting rid of Siwaee Singh, and expelling Raja Dhokul Singh from Nagor, about half was paid down, and devoted by the Ameer to the discharge of the arrears due to the troops, and the rest was promised by Raja Man Singh in a short time.

In the midst of all this, one of Raja Man Singh's dependent Thakoors wrote to him in Hindee to this effect,—"The Ameer has now taken possession of Joudhpoor, and of all the principal places in Marwar, to the prejudice of your proper authority: the Moosulmans will shortly be the rulers of the territory of this principality." By some chance, this letter fell into the Ameer's hands, whereupon, although his health was then indifferent, he lost not a moment in taking leave of Bukhshee Singee Induraj, and leaving the fort went to his old residence at Raeebagh without the city, about which his army lay

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encamped. Raja Man Singh was troubled at this, and looking on the Ameer's going, without notice or formal leave from himself, as a proof that something had occurred to give him offence, he came with the Bukhshee and some other confidential officers, and made apologies, and asked, what could be the reason why the Ameer, being unwell as was known, should remove to the less comfortable house without the city. "If," he said, "which God forbid, any thing unpleasant has occurred to give you dissatisfaction, pray let me know it, that I may do my best to remove all doubt from your mind, and to restore the old confidence and cordiality between us." The Ameer at first made excuses, and vowed there was nothing whatsoever that he had to complain of: but as the Raja insisted on knowing, he at last produced the Hindee letter, and showed it to him, whereupon he said, "Of a truth, our concerns and our interests are still one, no envious time-seeking rivals will be able to undermine you with me, or to produce estrangement between us." The Ameer upon this took out the written engagement he had from the Raja, to pay thirty-five lakhs of rupees, of which the half was still due, and tore it in the Raja's presence, and then made preparations for departure from Joudhpoor: and although the Raja was very earnest in intreating a further stay, the Ameer would not consent, but said, "The money you still owe, you may pay at your convenience: I shall now take my leave of Joudhpoor." The Raja returned to his palace, and the Ameer, having conferred the title of Raja on Lal Singh, the commandant of one of his brigades, sent the whole of the troops under command of the Nuwab Mookhtar-ood-Doula, to make collections in Bikaneer. Mohun Singh he promoted to the rank of Colonel, and sent him to administer the Jageer of his son,

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Vuzeer-ood-Doula Mohummud Vuzeer Khan (1) in Kooroo, and then marched himself towards Jypoor. The Compiler of this Memoir was in those days attached to Colonel Mohun Singh's brigade, and went with him to Kooroo.

The Ameer, (2) with his select troops, went to Sambhur, and in order to compel a settlement of his claims upon Jypoor, was about to attack the city. Raja Jugut Singh upon this sent Beohra Deena Ram, (3) one of his confidential ministers, to settle matters with the Ameer, and he entered into a negociation for the purpose; but after several days had elapsed without much progress being made towards an adjustment, the Ameer one day went at midnight, his usual hour for making the rounds of his own camp, to the tents of the Beohra, and desired the attendants there to say, that somebody was come on the part of the Ameer to confer with him. The Beohra sent for him in, and recognizing the Ameer himself, treated him with great attention, giving him the seat of honor, and representing, that it was not becoming for Sirdars to come thus alone in the night; that the times were ticklish, and many persons might be aiming at his life, and so find the occasion to execute their purpose. The Ameer said—"I have come without ceremony, my business being such as to lead to no difference between us: Let us now settle in person the negociation we have in hand." The Beohra said—"Very well:" and the

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(1) وزیرالدولہ محمد وزیرخان

(2) The Ameer left Joudhpoor in the beginning of July, 1808. The settlement of affairs with Jypoor occupied him during the rains, and in the cold weather he was employed in adjusting matters at the Court of Juswunt Rao Holkur.

(3) بیوہرہ دینا رام

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Ameer thereupon made a final agreement as to the amount he was to receive, and returned to his tents. He then dispatched Raee Himmut Raee, and Mohummud Ghufoor Khan to Jypoor, along with Beohra Deena Ram, to realize the sum agreed upon, and gave his troops assignments upon the forthcoming fund in payment of their arrears. He subsequently marched into the Kishengurh territory, and dispatched his father-in-law, Mohummud Ayaz Khan, with his Rusala, to act with Colonel Mohun Singh, in the management of the Kooroo Jageer, conferred on his son Vuzeer-ood-Doula, as above related.

Muharaj Juswunt Rao Holkur had at this time come by the route of Kota to Bhanpoora, (1) and was busy casting cannon, and celebrating the birth of a son, to whom he gave the name of Mulhar Rao. He was, however, troubled by reports of a rising amongst the Bheels (2) in the mountains about Chandor. These tribes having got into their power the wife of Kashee Rao, gave out that she was with child, and declared their intention of raising the issue, if a son, to the Musnud of the Holkur family. Under these circumstances Juswunt Rao, yielding to the persuasion of several short-sighted people, employed Chimna Bhao to quell the insurrection, and settled with him that, as the insurgents were numerous, and had got head in consequence of having Kashee Rao's wife with them, he should take a considerable force against them, and make use of Kashee Rao himself, who was under restraint all this time in the fort of Galna, by setting him nominally at the head of the troops during the first operations, but should take an opportunity in the course of the campaign against the Bheels, to get rid of

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(1) بھان پورہ (2) بھیلان

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him in such a manner, as that no imputation or suspicion should fall on himself on account of his death. The Bhao marched under these instructions, with a considerable force of horse and foot, against the Bheels, and taking Kashee Rao from Galna, as agreed upon, went into the hills and jungles, within which the Bheels had risen in insurrection. He there employed some of his own troops to make a sham attack on his camp in the night, and to fire blank cartridges, so as to give the opportunity of effecting his purpose towards Kashee Rao. These men did so, pretending to attack the camp, and firing at one corner of it. The Bhao immediately, availing himself of the stratagem, employed people to put Kashee Rao to death, and then gave out, that the Bheels had made a night attack and killed him. (1) Having thus effected his purpose, and the Bheels being brought to submission, Chimna Bhao returned to the court of Juswunt Rao Holkur, who being now relieved from all apprehension of a rival claimant to the Holkur supremacy, received him with much satisfaction and honor, little dreaming that a retribution, certain but dreadful, was hanging over himself.

In fact, only a few days after this, a raging insanity began to show itself in Juswunt Rao. Night and day he

(1) Sir John Malcolm, though he professes to give a most circumstantial account of all matters relating to the Holkur family, and though, from being long resident at the Court of the young representative of this family, he had the best opportunities of ascertaining facts, is yet the most unsatisfactory authority that exists, to refer to for a date. The death of Kashee Rao Holkur is stated by him to have occurred, not as here related, but in the fort of Beejagurh, where, according to him, he was confined with his wife, and both are stated to have been beheaded, consequently upon an attempt of some Putans under Bungush Khan to obtain possession of their persons. From the date at the top of the page, the year 1806 is indicated as the time, and the story is told as following close upon the death of Khundee Rao. He connects the event, however, with the expedition of Chimna Bhao against the Bheels on one hand, and with the insanity of Juswunt Rao on the other, and hence there is ground to assume the early part of 1808 as the true time of Kashee Rao's death.

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would tear his breast with his nails, and knock his head against the ground, and strip off his clothes, and utter cries of loud lamentation; and although the best medical practitioners, and magicians of the age were procured to attend him, neither their prescriptions nor their charms were of any avail. Where indeed was the remedy for the mind diseased? This deplorable condition of so great a Chief was the fruit of his conduct, first towards Khundee Rao, and afterwards towards Kashee Rao, both of whom he had murdered innocent, and in cold blood. The insanity of Juswunt Rao Holkur brought the fortunes of that house to the lowest ebb, for there was no one among Juswunt Rao's nobles and principal officers, competent to take on himself the conduct of affairs; and his son was but seven or eight months old, when the symptoms of his father's malady began to display themselves. The Holkur officers sent information first to the Ameer, and begged of him to come and take the management of affairs. The Ameer was greatly distressed at hearing of this state of things, and went with all haste to see the Muharaj himself. He accordingly started for this purpose from Kishengurh, with some select horse, thinking the delay that would attend the carrying all his troops to be prejudicial, and went with all dispatch by Ṭonk and Indurgurh. (1) The Ameer reached Sheergurh in two days, and the horses of most of his party being knocked up, he waited there a day or two, to allow the stragglers who had fallen behind to come up as they might. After a stay of two or three days at Sheergurh, the Ameer taking with him his son Vuzeer-eod-Doula Mohummud Vuzeer Khan, started again, and rode at once into the camp of the Muharaj at Bhanpoora. His compassion was much excited at seeing the condition to

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(1) ٹونک وا ندرگده

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which Juswunt Rao Holkur was reduced. Meerza Roshun Beg, and the other Holkur officers came to the Ameer, and said, that the head of the Holkur family being now out of his mind, and the son, an infant of a few months old, it behoved the Ameer to take the affairs of the family in hand. The Ameer said, "I cannot take this upon myself, without incurring an ill name in the world. Better that you, who command the troops should hold together as you can, leaving the administration of civil affairs in the hands of the old officers of the family." The Ameer, accordingly, released Dhurman, a Chela (1) of the Muharaj, and associating him with Sobha Ram, (2) the Choudhuree of artillery, placed him over the troops of that arm, and the infantry. The command of the Paeegah horse he gave to Meean Mithoo, (3) Sudur-ood-Deen, and Ratoo Putel, (4) and the revenue administration, and collections of the pergunas were assigned to Bala Ram Seth and Chimna Bhao. Tanteea Jog (5) was employed also as a Karkoon (or civil officer,) in the conduct of affairs, while Gunput Rao (6) was nominated the Dewan, and Koosaba the Bukhshee. Having settled all these arrangements, the Ameer sent for Ghufoor Khan, and giving him the title of Nuwab Iftukhar-ood-Doula, he left him as agent on his own part, and with a general control and superintendence over the affairs of the family and camp, telling the Holkur officers, civil and military, to attend to his advice in all matters.

The Ameer on this occasion conferred the following other titles:—on Mohummud Jumsheed Khan, that of

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(1) دھرمان چیلہ (2) سوبھا رام (3) میان مٹھو

(4) صدرالدین راتو پٹیل (5) تانتیا جوک (6) گنپت راو

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Nuseer-ood-Doula Istuqamut Jung (1)—on Rajun Pindara, Nuwab Ikhteear-ood-Doula Moostuqeem Jung (2)—on Shuhamut Khan, (3) son of Kureem Khan, Pindara, the title of Surfuraz-ood-Doula. Honors and promotions were distributed to other officers of both armies according to their merit and services.

The Ameer's army had followed him from Kishengurh, and being now collected, he determined to march with it against Nagpoor, associating with himself a considerable force of Pindaras. Kureem Khan, Huroo, and Cheetoo, Pindaras attached to Sindheea, (Sindheea Shahee) were at the time under restraint, and could not, therefore, personally range themselves under the Ameer's standard, but they all sent quotas under Shuhamut Khan, Namdar Khan, and other sons, relations, or principal officers of their respective Duras.

These events occurred in the Hejira year 1223. (4)

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(1) محمد جمشید خان نصیر الدوله استقامت جنگ

(2) راجن پندارہ نواب اختیار الدوله مستقیم جنگ

(3) شهامت خان سرفراز الدوله

(4) A. D. 1808, 28th February to 16th February, 1809.

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BOOK THE EIGHTH.

THE AMEER'S PROCEEDINGS IN MALWA AND MEWAR.

CHAPTER I.

1809—1810.

The Ameer proceeds against Nagpoor—Arrives at Raee Sen, in Bhopal—Interview with Vuzeer Mohummud Khan, the Ruler there—Discharges the Pindaras for the rains—Passes the season at Gurakota, making collections in the neighbourhood—The Rajahs of the vicinity join the Ameer, who attacks Jubulpoor and plunders it—Defeats a Nagpoor force—Battle with Sidk Ulee Khan, the Nagpoor General, who is shut up in a hill fort—The Nagpoor Raja applies to Hydurabad and to the English for succour—Arrival of British and Hydurabad troops—The Ameer finding them in strength, avoids an action—His troops mutiny, and he returns towards the camp of Juswunt Rao Holkur.

THE Ameer marched(1) from Bhanpoora upon his expedition against Nagpoor, with an army of forty thousand horse and foot, including his own special horse, the Pindaras, his Deohree (household) battalions, &c. Taking

(1) This expedition was commenced in June, 1809.

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the route of Sarungpoor and Shujaeelpoor, through Malwa, he came by Islamnugur (1) to Raee-Sen, (2) a dependency of Bhopal. Vuzeer Mohummud, the ruler of Bhopal at this time, came out, on the strength of his former intimacy with the Ameer, to see him there.

As the rainy season was approaching, the Ameer determined to defer his expedition for the present, and he accordingly gave leave to Rajun, Kadir Bukhsh, Shuhamut Khan, Dost Mohummud Khan, Imam Bukhsh, and the other Pindara leaders, to return to their several homes, upon a promise to rejoin when the rains were over. The Ameer then, with his own special troops, went by the route of Bhilsa, (3) levying a contribution there by the way, he passed Sagur, and then moved on to Deoree Korchamur. (4) From this place the Ameer started with four or five hundred horse only, and by a forced and rapid march reached Chanwulpatha, (5) on the Nurbuda, belonging to Nagpoor, and distant forty kos. There were here three or four hundred matchlockmen of the Raja's, whom the Ameer attacked immediately and drove away. He then surrounded the place, waiting the arrival of his main body, and giving out that he was the Ameer's Bukhshee, come to settle on his part for a contribution. The towns-people were thus amused all day with negociation, and the time was lost that might have been usefully employed by them in preparation for defence, or in removing property. They, seeing how few were about the town, thought to buy them away with two or three thousand rupees, but soon afterwards, when the

(1) اسلام نگر (2) راي سين (3) بهيلسه

(4) ديوري كورچهامر (5) چانول پاٹهه

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main body arrived, the Ameer by threats extorted an agreement for eighty thousand, and staid a few days for its collection. He then marched to Hutheea, (1) near Gura-Kota. (2) Raja Murdun Singh (3) of that place, and the other Chiefs of the neighbourhood, came and joined the Ameer, and the rains were here spent by him.

It was the Ameer's frequent practice to wander about the camp by night with one or two servants, in order to ascertain the condition and temper of the troops. One night having done so in his own army, he thought he would proceed to Raja Murdun Singh's encampment, which was about a kos off, to see how matters stood there: he accordingly went that way, till he came to a small stream, on both sides of which people were sitting, to whom he sent a servant to ask what they were about. They answered that the waters were out, and they could not find a ford to cross by. The Ameer went a few paces along the bank, and then descending into the bed of the stream, and trying the water with a staff he had in his hand, he ascertained where the ford was practicable, and crossed over. He thereupon sent to point out to the people where they could cross, and went on to Raja Murdun Singh's encampment, where he sent in word, that he had come on a message from the Ameer, and wished to speak with the Raja. The Raja's servant recognized the Ameer, and running in all haste to the Raja, gave him notice. He had then just bathed, and was on the point of taking his night's meal; but coming out to the Ameer, he took him into the tent, and giving him the seat of honor, asked whether he should send for the dancing girls. The

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(1) هتهیا (2) گڈھ کوٹہ (3) راجہ مرد نسنگھ رئیس گڈھ کوٹہ

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Ameer said there was no occasion, and after sitting a short time, rose to go away; and although the Raja wished to order his palkee, and to send with him an escort of horse, he would not have either, but returned as he came. Some horse of the Raja's followed, nevertheless, at a distance, as a guard as far as to the Ameer's piquets, and then returned.

The Ameer soon after this dismissed Raja Murdun Singh, and the other Chiefs of the country, and sent back also to Sheergurh his own family, with his son, Nuwab Vuzeer-ood-Doula, whom he had sent for and kept with him at Gurakota, giving them Meean Syud Ulee Shah (1) for escort. He then marched and encamped on the further bank of the Chhaeen, (2) (Cane River) putting to the sword a party of the Raja's troops who were posted there to defend the Ghat. Again, marching by Tejgurh, (3) and passing a Ghat at the foot of the mountains near that place, he encamped on the Hurun (4) rivulet, at a village named Kuskee. (5) Here he was delayed a day by the fords not being practicable. On the second day, however, the water having fallen, he found a ford, and crossed. The town of Jubulpoor, belonging to Rughoojee, was only one stage from this, and the Raja had a force there of seven or eight thousand horse and foot, and fourteen guns, under Nabha Ghatkeea. (6) The Ameer started with a party, lightly equipped, to surprise this force; but

(1) میان سید علیشاہ (2) چھاین (3) تیجگڈھ (4) جوي هرن

(5) The original has کسکي but it is not improbable, the place referred to will be Kutungee, which would be written کتنگي and by omission of the nooktas, or points, might well be mistaken and copied as Kuskee.

(7) This occurred in October, 1809.

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Nabha Ghatkeea having received intelligence of his approach, retired to a strong position on a hill about seven kos distant. The Ameer leaving a party to watch the town of Jubulpoor, (1) went three kos in the direction of the enemy, and then detaching Mohummud Syud Khan, Umur Khan, Jumsheed Khan, and Dara Shah Khan, Afghans, with the Nuwab Shuhamut Khan, Meerza Umur Beg, and other Chiefs of Pindaras, to the hills against Nabha Ghatkeea, encamped for the night, waiting the issue with the rest of his horse. Mohummud Syud Khan and the rest, who went against Nabha Ghatkeea, brought him to action at the foot of the pass, and after a few hours fighting, in which many of the infidels fell under the swords of the Champions of the faith, the enemy was defeated, and dispersed, leaving in the victors' hands several horses, nine elephants, and fourteen guns. The detachment rejoined the Ameer next day, and the reserves and baggage, which had been left behind, also came up. The Ameer then entered Jubulpoor (2) with his victorious army, and obtained a large booty there, besides levying a present contribution, and he placed garrisons in the town, and in all the surrounding places. Here, in consequence of the mutiny and misconduct of his Afghan troops, he was detained for a month and a half, and the Raja of Nagpoor availing himself of the interval, got together a force of twenty-five thousand horse and foot, the latter chiefly composed of Sikhs, and sent it with a large artillery, under the command of Sidq Ulee Khan, (3)

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(1) نابھا گھاٹکیہ (2) جبل پور

(3) The Ameer always calls this officer Sidq Ulee Khan. صدق علیخان In the correspondence of Government and other authorities, the name is always written Sudeeq Ulee Khan. صدیق علیخان

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to Sreenugur, (1) which is ten kos from Jubulpoor, and amongst the mountains.

The Ameer upon entering on this expedition, had sent Shahid Khan, (2) as a Vakeel, or agent on his part to Nagpoor, and through him the Raja tendered a share of his own, and of Sindheea's territory, on the condition of co-operation and assistance. The Vakeel returned with overtures to this effect, and a negociation on the subject was opened. Matters being in this state, the Ameer had no desire to bring on a battle, but the Afghans in their wilfulness made ready for action, and the Ameer seeing this, sent his reserve and baggage towards Gurakota, and went out with a party of his light troops, and in this manner came to Sreenugur, and invested the place. Although the enemy had the advantage of a position in hills, and surrounded by nullas and ravines and thick tangled woods, of all which he failed not to avail himself to the utmost, still the Ameer so effectually surrounded him, and cut off his communications, that Sidq Ulee Khan opened a negociation through Nuwab Jumsheed Khan, one of the Ameer's Sirdars, and holding out hopes of a money settlement with Nagpoor, offered to surrender. Jumsheed Khan being backed by a large party of Afghans, determined to turn the circumstance to his personal advantage, and coming to the Ameer, said, "If you wish to bring Nagpoor to terms with our assistance, here is the opportunity; otherwise give us our discharge, and carry on the war without us." The Ameer not desiring to break with this Sirdar, authorized him to conclude an arrangement for thirteen lakhs for Nagpoor, which being agreed to,

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(1) سري نگر (2) شاهد خان

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Nudeem Saheb,(1) Sidq Ulee Khan's younger brother, and two considerable Sahookars and a Goosaeen, were given as hostages. Taking these persons, therefore, along with him back to Jubulpoor, the Ameer waited a week to see the issue.

In the mean time, Sidq Ulee Khan, and Nabha Ghatkeea, having reported the inadequacy of their force to cope with the Ameer, applied to Raja Rughojee Ghoosla for succour, and he, making great exertions, brought together a large army of fifty or sixty thousand horse and foot, composed of cavalry, borrowed from Nizam Ulee Khan of Hydurabad, of Suwars from Kripa Kanor, Mahratta Mankurees,(2) and Punjabees, added to all the troops he had under his personal command, and with these he prepared to relieve Sidq Ulee Khan.

The Ameer was in this instance taken off his guard: for he considered the hostages to be sufficient pledges for the sincerity of the offer to negociate, and feeling sure of getting the money, was making preparations for leaving the country. To increase the difficulty of his situation, Mohummud Jumsheed Khan, and the other Afreedee Rusaladars, fancying that the Ameer intended to get the money into his own possession, and then march homeward, without making any distribution of pay, began a tumult and mutiny for their arrears. They subjected the Ameer to Dhurna, and treated him with

(1) ندیم صاحب

(2) See Grant Duff, vol. II. page 353, for the explanation of this term. Mankuree, which means literally, man of distinction, but has been applied to every petty holder of landed property who provides his own horse and takes service.

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much severity; nor would they remit or relax in their treatment of him, even when they heard that the Nagpoor army had come to within one march of Jubulpoor: for they insisted, that the money arrangement was settled, and that the bringing of the Nagpoor troops was but a feint to deceive them, and to get them out of the country without any issue of pay. Such was the state of things in the Ameer's army, when he was threatened with an attack by Rughoojee's army, reinforced by the troops above mentioned. With great difficulty, partly by persuasion and partly by compulsion, he got a considerable party of Afghans to agree to march under his orders; but those who kept aloof, and separated themselves altogether from him, were very numerous; and to add to his difficulties, the Pindaras, whom he had sent to their homes till the end of the rains, under promise of returning at the close of the season, were not yet arrived, by reason of the distance. Thus the Ameer, feeling that his force was weakened by the loss of the services of the mutineers and seceders, and that those who continued faithful were dispirited and discontented, and being desirous also of allowing time for the Pindaras to join, determined to avoid an action if possible, and to retire towards Bhopal. In execution of this plan, he left Jubulpoor, and took up ground about two kos off at the foot of the hills north of the town. The enemy also came up, and encamped at a distance of three kos only from the Ameer. The ground here was too full of ravines and tangled jungul for an action. Being still desirous therefore of avoiding a battle, the Ameer explained to the seven or eight thousand horse, and to the single battalion, which constituted all the force he had then about him, that the enemy was now upon them, and the ground such as not to allow of an action to be fought, therefore, that the reserve and baggage

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should be sent forthwith across the river (Hurun,) and next morning he would make as orderly a retreat as possible towards Tejgurh, which was a large place, well adapted for a battle, or for any further operations that might be determined upon. The obstinate Afghans would not hearken to this scheme, and refused altogether to move from the ground. The Ameer, having issued orders for the reserve to march in the morning, went with a light force of four or five thousand horse to try and persuade the Afghans to join in the movement. While he was employed in wrangling and arguing with them, and before his reserves were well across the river, the enemy, leaving his rear guard and baggage in camp, appeared with a light force, and coming up as for action, opened with artillery on the Ameer's troops. The obstinate fools of Afghans were not yet satisfied, but said to themselves—"The firing is only a ruse of the Ameer's to get us to leave the country, and to allow himself to pocket the money." The enemy, in the mean time, came unopposed to the edge of the ravines of the nulla, which protected the camp on that side, and from thence opened on the Afghans with musquetry as well as cannon. The Ameer lost all patience at this absurd conduct of these men, and at last said to them—"This you see is the consequence of your factions, and mutinies, and absurd suspicions. Say now—is the peace ratified with the Ghoosla, that you were to this moment so sure of?" The men at last began to be ashamed of themselves, and hung down their heads, and prepared for action as well as circumstances would admit. At this precise moment, the Ameer's standard elephant became so *must* as to be quite unmanageable, and ran about the camp wounding and killing people, without submitting in the least to the controul of his Mahout. Some Suwars, with their spears,

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brought him at length to be a little more tractable, still he would not move as required, but threw up the dust with his trunk, and charged like mad, right and left. The Ameer seeing this, reflected that the elephant's *must* state at this juncture showed it was the will of God that the battle should be fought in the midst of confusion, thus giving to the enemy's fortune all the aid and advantage possible. He proceeded, however, to make his dispositions in all haste. (1) On the right, he posted Jumsheed Khan, Fuqeer Mohummud Khan, Mohummud Saeed Khan, Kootub Ood-deen, Moonuwur Khan, and the other Afreedee Rusaladars; on the left, Umur Khan, Dara Shah Khan, Mohummud Saeed Khan, Suroor Khan, and the other Rampoor Sirdars. The Ekas, that is his own body of independent horse, with the infantry of Ulluf Beg, (2) &c. were in the center, and thrown forward to stand the brunt of the action. In this order, the battle commenced. There were some ravines interposed, which prevented a charge, and the troops could not come to close conflict: but the Punjabee horse in the enemy's service dismounted, and entering the ravines, opened with matchlocks on the men of the left wing of the Ameer's army. The Ameer, thinking the time was come to strike a blow, rode immediately to the left, and sent Munglee, (3) his Kidmutkar, to tell the Rampoor Sirdars to charge, in order to prevent the Punjabees from advancing beyond the ravines in that quarter. This man executed his part admirably, riding in front of the Rampoor Afghans, and calling out, that now was the time to show their courage and prowess. By this means he inspired them with

(1) This affair took place on the 17th November, 1809.

(2) الف بیگ (3) منگلی خدمتگار

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such emulation, that they charged the Punjabees into the ravines, and committed great havoc amongst them. Those of them who escaped, and endeavoured to save themselves by flight, were followed by the horsemen across the ravine, and the whole body was dispersed and cut to pieces. After this, further pursuing their success the Ameer's men got through, and to the rear of the enemy's line. In like manner, on the opposite or right wing, Jumsheed Khan and the other Afreedee Rusaladars, were ordered to the charge by the Ameer, who rode about every where quite alone, giving his directions, and regulating the battle, as far as the state of things would allow. The charge on that side, also, was successfully pushed to a steep position occupied by the enemy. But in the midst of these successes on both wings, a body of the enemy's horse, in number about ten or twelve thousand, who had hitherto remained in good order, apart from the battle, came and charged the center of the Ameer's line, where he was posted in person. It so happened that the *must* elephant with the standard had again begun to be unruly, and leaving his post in front of the Ameer's Suwaree, charged the different bodies of horse, and killed and overturned several troopers. This accident broke entirely the order intended to be observed, scattered the men, and abstracted their attention from the enemy towards the abominable animal; and it was just at this time, that the body of the enemy before-mentioned came down to the charge, and crossed the nulla, and broken ground in front, without opposition during the confusion. The Ameer's cavalry being already broken by the *must* elephant, took flight before the enemy, without offering any effectual resistance, and the Ameer himself was left with not more than fifty horse near him, and about the same number of foot soldiers of Ulaf Beg's battalions. By this small

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body was the enemy's charge received, and the conflict soon became close, when many of the Ameer's men being killed or wounded, the rest gave ground, and got out of the way. Only five or six troopers, such as Jumsheed Khan, (1) Allah Dad Khan, and Ulee Mohummud Khan,(2) stood by the Ameer. In the confusion of the melée, the Ameer's men and the enemy were mixed, and one of the latter riding at Jumsheed Khan, struck at him with a lance, which penetrating his coat of mail, pierced his chest, and came out at his back: yet he was not killed—but drawing out the spear himself with great resolution, he not only escaped with life, but recovered entirely of the wound. Another of the enemy's Suwars in mail came against the Ameer in person, and both struck at one another with their spears at the same moment. The Ameer's spear got entangled in the man's ring-mail and clothes, and was drawn out of his hand. His opponent's spear, however, had gone through the sleeve of the Ameer's Dugla (quilted coat), and the Ameer siezing hold of it drew it out of the man's hand, and using it himself afterwards, slew and disabled with it many of the enemy: but the Ameer was, in the course of this chance medley, carried away with the body of the enemy, and rode with them some distance without being recognized, until he watched his opportunity, and escaped from the midst of them, while they retired to their own ground. The effect of this charge was such that the Ameer's men were all broken and dispersed. Rallying them, however, as well as he could, he got together a body, with which he saved his guns, which were already at the Ghat of the Hurun, and then crossing the river, he retired to the

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(1) جمشید خان دوسروالہ (2) اللہ داد خان علی محمد خان

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opposite bank of the Chhayn (Cane,) about five kos further off, and there encamped. The Afreedee and Rampoor Afghans, who had been successful in their respective parts of the field, seeing the confusion in the center, made for the standard elephant, and finding the battle completely lost, came also to camp, leaving in the hands of the enemy the standard elephant which would not move, and a howitzer, which, in consequence of the carriage breaking, could not be crossed over the river. Amongst those who lost their lives in this action were Hafiz Kureem Oollah Khan, Vuzeer Khan, Kumur Ulee Khan, also Nuwab Sumund Khan, and Muhmood Khan. Besides these, some other of the Ameer's officers of rank were killed or wounded. Of the slain, on the enemy's side, no account was taken.

The Ameer, in order to effect a junction with Meean Vuzeer Mohummud Khan, the Bhopal administrator, and the Pindaree Chiefs, retired by Tejgurh and Deoree Korchamur to near Heerapoor, (1) a village in Bhopal, on the banks of the Nurbuda, where it is joined by the Hurun. (2) Here he was met by Vuzeer Mohummud Khan, and preparing immediately a light force with two guns, he crossed the Nurbuda, and marched one stage from the river in two parties, leaving his reserves and baggage at the old ground. Here also he was joined by the Pindara leaders and their durras, and found himself, including them and the Bhopal troops, to be at the head of near seventy or eighty thousand men, horse and foot. Continuing his march, and sending the Pindaras a head,

(1) هیرا پور

(2) This place is barbarized in Sir J. Malcolm's Map into Errappoor.

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these latter surrounded the enemy's troops, which after the late action had retired to a position under Chouragurh, (1) a hill fort in the midst of thick tangled jungul, about one stage from Jubulpoor. The Ameer followed in a day or two, and came to a position about three kos from Chouragurh. When he was preparing to offer battle to the enemy, Meean Vuzeer Mohummud, of Bhopal, who was well versed in the art of divination, and in judging of lucky or unlucky circumstances, attempted to dissuade him, as the day, he said, was one of those in which the invisible agent, (2) supposed to regulate such matters, was in the direction of the enemy's position; besides which, the enemy seemed in alarm, and he advised, therefore, his being left alone till next day, in the hope that he would retire of his own accord, or, if he did not, he might be attacked the following day with equal advantage. The Ameer answered, that his reliance was on Providence, and the protection of the Deity, and he had little care for matters of worldly superstition or fancies of that kind, that he thought an immediate attack the most advisable course. Vuzeer Mohummud was rather pertinacious in his opinion, and at last, when overruled, he advised that, at any rate, if the Ameer was deter-

(1) چوراگڈھ

(2) The Natives of Hindoostan believe that there is an invisible being constantly moving round the world, of which it makes the circuit in about eight days, or four times in each lunar month—on the 1st, he is on the east—on the 2d, north—3d, south-east—4th, south-west—5th, south—6th, west—7th, north-west—8th, north-east—on the 9th, again east. His next station in this quarter is on the 16th—the north-eastern station being omitted in this circuit. He again is in the east, after a regular circuit of eight stations, on the 24th. The next circuit omits the north-west station, bringing the agent to the north-east on the 30th, if there be so many days, and on the first of the following month he is again in the east. The agent is called Rijal-ool-Ghyb رجال الغیب by Mohummudans, and Yogini, by Hindoos, and it is unlucky to move in the direction facing him, or placing him on the right hand.

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mined to bring on an action, the attack should be made not in front, where he said the ground was covered with thorny jungul and ravines, but by a circuit from the rear, where it was comparatively open. The Ameer, however, trusting by preference to Man Singh, his jemadar of hurkarus, who reported (as appeared afterwards erroneously) the precise reverse, determined upon an attack (1) in front. Posting Jumsheed Khan, Fuqeer Mohummud Khan, Kootub Deen Khan, Mohummud Saeed Khan, and Khoda Bukhsh Khan, on the right, and the Rampoor Sirdars on the left, and leaving the Seraeen Afghans, such as Dara Shah Khan, Umur Khan, &c. as a reserve, the Ameer gave to Vuzeer Mohummud Khan and his troops, accompanied by Shahamut Khan and other Rusaladars, and supported by one thousand infantry of the camp guards with six guns, the post of honor in front of the centre. The Ameer himself retired to an elevated spot with his special troops, and mounted his elephant, while the Pindaras were detached by him, with orders to endeavour to get in the enemy's rear, and prevent escape.

Sidq Ulee Khan, Sukha Ram Baboo, and Nabha Ghatkeea, were the three Generals on the enemy's side, and the following were their dispositions. The fortress of Chouragurh covered their rear, and there was a deep nulla, which protected their front. They had thrown forward a body of infantry with sixty-five guns, and had posted the Sikhs, and some dismounted Punjabee horse, with the Gond Raja's quotas in the low ground of the nulla, under cover of the ravines, which extended from the right to the extreme left of their position, and the Mahratta horse, with the Raja's special troops, were on

(1) This affair took place on the 7th December, 1809.

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some elevated ground behind. In this order they waited the attack.

The battle commenced with the Sikhs and others, who opened with musquetry from the nulla and ravines. One of the Ameer's guns unfortunately burst at the beginning of the action, and another was struck with a shot, and rendered unserviceable. Jumsheed Khan and Fuqeer Mohummud Khan with others, unable to restrain their impetuosity, went boldly to the charge, and advanced as far as the edge of the ravines and nulla, but there they were checked by the broken ground, and by repeated discharges from the enemy's artillery, from which they suffered severely—and finally, were compelled to retire. Fuqeer Mohummud was at this time severely wounded, and thrown from his horse. An attack made from the left by the Rampoor Rusaladars was not more successful, for they too were brought up by the bad ground on the edge of the nulla, and were equally exposed to the fire of the enemy's powerful artillery, which opened on them with grape. Vuzeer Mohummud Khan remained all this while stationary in the centre. The Ameer, seeing this from the position he occupied with his elephant, mounted his horse, and went with great intrepidity, followed by about fifty horsemen, to the edge of the broken ground, driving before him some parties of the enemy, who had ventured across in pursuit of the troops which had suffered from the artillery, and disregarding entirely the fire of grape which poured thick about him. The effect of the fire of the enemy's artillery was such, that the Ameer's horse could not face it, but were scattered like cotton in the hands of the carder. The Ameer's companions drew up in consequence, and Meer Ubdoolla, the Raja of Kota's Vukeel, remonstrated with the Ameer at his rashness in

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exposing himself, and begged him to go no further, as he had nobody in attendance, and there was no use in further tempting fortune, reminding him also of the saying of the Poet,

> "There needs an army for a War,
> What can be done by one Suwar."

The Ameer drawing up in consequence of this advice, remained some time, considering what was to be done, when a shot from one of the enemy's guns struck the Vukeel, and he was knocked off his horse, and killed on the spot. Another shot told upon the Ameer's horse which was killed under him, but he escaped himself without injury. About one or two hundred of the Rampoor Afghans, who had failed in the attempt to pass the ravines and nulla, and were then not far off, rode up at this time to their General, and mounting him on another horse, charged under his command, and drove back all the parties of the enemy, that attempted to show themselves on the near side of the nulla. The Ameer exerted himself with extraordinary courage in these affairs, which were such as to remind one of the battles of Roostum and Asfendiar, as told in story. He exposed his person every where, disregardful of the artillery, and mixing in combat with all who opposed him, but, as he saw there was no opportunity of making the action decisive, and as Mohummud Saeed Khan, indeed, and others of his companions, seized the reins of his horse, and begged him with all earnestness to retire, he at last left the field, and returned to his reserve and baggage at Heerapoor in the Bhopal territory. Here he remained a week, and was rejoined by Fuqeer Mohummud Khan, who being recognized by his dress as an officer, was taken care of by the enemy, until

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his wounds were sufficiently healed to enable him to move, when they allowed him to return to his duty.

The Ameer now determined to endeavour to reduce the enemy by surrounding him and stopping his supplies, for he deemed the position to be unassailable by a direct attack, in consequence of the ravines, hills, and thick jungul about it. He accordingly came again before the place, with a light force of cavalry, and of Pindaras, and surrounding the enemy on all sides, so effectually cut off his communications and supplies, as to bring him to great extremity. In the mean time, the Pindaras swept the whole territory of Nagpoor in separate parties, plundering towns and villages, and committing excesses, to the great terror and misery of the population. The Ameer's army employed against the enemy's position at Chouragurh was divided into two divisions, one half being always on duty, watching the routes of communication, and surrounding the place, while the other half collected supplies from the neighbourhood, or from where they could, for the subsistence of those so employed. The blockade was so complete, that the enemy could not breathe, or scratch his head. After a week, the inconvenience began to be insupportable, and Baboo Sukha Ram wrote urgently to Raja Rughoojee Ghoosla to solicit succour and relief. A large army was thereupon collected, including Colonel Close's brigade of British troops from Hydurabad, and the Peshwa's army from Poona, and Nizam Ulee Khan's troops under Soobhan Khan: besides which, an English brigade, (under Colonel Martindell,) came down from Bundelkhund. Doulut Rao Sindheea, who was at the time at Ajmeer, also contributed a brigade from his forces, to support the falling fortunes of the

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Ghoosla, and it had reached Jawudh in full march to the scene of action.

It happened at this time, that the Baee, (1) Juswunt Rao Holkur's wife, wrote pressing letters to the Ameer to come in all haste to her relief, as Dhurman Chela, availing himself of Juswunt Rao's madness, had contrived to bring the troops over to him, and so establishing an influence in the administration of affairs, was meditating all manner of mischief, that he had already subjected herself to personal restraint, and she feared worse consequences. She added, that if the Ameer wished the Holkur power to continue in existence, and it would be to his eternal disgrace were he to allow it to be annihilated, he should leave whatever else he might have in hand, and fly to her succour. The Ameer, reflecting upon the union of forces brought together to thwart his present purposes, consisting of British armies from the Dukhun and from Bundelkhund, and of the forces of the Nizam and Peshwa, and Doulut Rao, all co-operating in the defence of the possessions of the Nagpoor Raja—reflecting also upon the condition to which the affairs of the Holkur family were brought by Dhurman Chela, and on the claims of that family upon his gratitude and good offices—considering also the urgency of the case from the violence of this Chela, and that unless he himself were promptly on the spot to provide a remedy, matters might be carried to extremity, involving the utter ruin of that house, resolved, for all these reasons, to break up his army from round Chouragurh, and to return immediately to Heera-

(1) The Baee here referred to is Toolsa Baee, who was already at the head of affairs in the Holkur Durbar, and continued to act the same conspicuous part, being foremost in all profligacy and wickedness, until put to death on the night before the battle of Mahedpoor.

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poor, where his reserves were stationed. Here he gave order for the baggage and main body to march with all dispatch under Meerza Ameer Beg, (1) Beeneewala, by the route of Raee-Sen, Shujaelpoor, and Sarungpoor, while he himself, with his cavalry and light troops, went first to Bhopal along with Vuzeer Mohummud Khan, and thence by Bhilsa to Seronj, where he staid a few days.

The Ameer's object in thus separating from his main body was, that, if the British, the Nizam's, and the Poona forces, collected against him, should pursue hotly, and bring him to action, his reserves, by taking a different route, might escape—whereas, if he had taken up a defensive position with all his forces, the war would, probably, have been drawn to a length—and, in the mean time, the Holkur affairs might have been brought to ruin by Dhurman Chela. Having these plans and purposes in view, the Ameer came, as stated, to Seronj, with his light troops. Colonel Close, with his brigade and some Nagpoor troops, came as far as Bhourasa, (2) one stage from that place, and prepared for a night attack on him. But hearing of it, the Ameer marched again the same night, and proceeded by forced and uninterrupted marches to Sarungpoor and Shujaelpoor, where he rejoined his main body. In the mean time, Colonel Close, (3) with his division, came to Seronj, and there met with no resis-

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(1) امیر بیگ بینی واله (2) بهوراسه

(3) Colonel Close advanced from Jalna by Hoshungabad, and crossed the Nurbuda in January, 1810. On the 10th of February, he reached Seronj, five miles beyond which, viz. to Borea, was the limit of his advance northward. Colonel Maitlandell moved down from Bundelkhund on the same point, and was at Khimlasa to co-operate with, and support Colonel Close in the expected event of Ameer Khan's having endeavoured to make head at Seronj. Finding that he had gone into Mewar, and that all danger to Nagpoor was at an end, both armies returned to their respective quarters.

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tance. Meean Moonuwur Khan, (1) the Amil, had retired for protection to the Luteree (2) Jungul, near Seronj, and his camp was surprised, and many of his people killed; but the Ameer, by the effect of his superior arrangements, escaped, without loss of any kind, to Sarungpoor, whither the enemy did not think proper to follow him. Colonel Close, in order to draw the Ameer into a net by stratagem, caused the Nizam's General, Soobhan Khan, to write to him, that it was very unbecoming his character and reputation to fly from his pursuers, instead of boldly meeting them in the field: but this experienced warrior seeing through the artifice, and penetrating that Soobhan Khan's letter must have been written at the suggestion, or with the knowledge of Colonel Close, wrote thus for answer—"Your troops are much too fresh yet, having just come out of their own country, and comfortable quarters. After you have been worn out with forced marches, pursuing me from one end of the country to another, I shall be ready for you some day when you do not expect me, and by God's help I will then try the metal of your courage." Upon the arrival of this letter in Colonel Close's camp, and on the contents being read to him, his zeal somewhat abated, and not being inclined to the fatigues of a hot pursuit, he carried back his army: while the Ameer marching from Sarungpoor, reached Saduree, (3) in Mewar, in two or three days. Here he was met peaceably by Bapoo Sindheea, Doulut Rao's general, who came over with a small escort from Jawudh, which was about three or four marches off, on hearing of the Ameer's being encamped in the neighbourhood. His object was to ask the Ameer with what designs he had

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(1) میان منور خان (2) دشت لٹیري (3) سادري

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come into those parts. The Ameer told him it was to settle the affairs of Holkur's family, which were embroiled by Dhurman Chela. "Now tell me in return," said the Ameer, "what are your plans?" Bapoo Sindheea, who was a man of sense and discretion, said—"I desire to have nothing to say to you, only move away from this territory." The Ameer agreeing to this, went to Humeerpoor, (1) seven kos from Chitor, in Mewar. Holkur's army was about three kos from thence. The events above related, occurred in the Hejira year 1224. (2)

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(1) حمیر پور

(2) A. D. 1809 16th February to 5th February 1810.

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BOOK THE EIGHTH.

CHAPTER II.

1810.

The Ameer surrounds Dhurman Chela and wins over the troops by intrigue—His death effected—The Ameer's march to Kangroulee in Mewar.

At Humeerpoor, which is in the territory of Raja Chundun Singh, (1) the Ameer was joined by the Nuwab Iftukhar-ood-Doula, Mohummud Ghufoor Khan, who had been expelled from Holkur's camp by Dhurman Chela, and remained with about two thousand horse, subsisting as they could by collections in the neighbouring country. From him the Ameer learned all the particulars of Dhurman Chela's misdeeds. The Ameer called all his Sirdars to council, and stated to them plainly, that he was without funds for his present wants, still that the affair of Dhurman Chela, who was ruining the Holkur family, seemed to be pressing; "wherefore," he said, "let those only who are disposed for a service of want, and poverty, and hard work, join me in this expedition. Let those

(1) راجه چند نسنگه

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again who seek their own comfort, at the sacrifice of that of their wives and children, return home and leave me, I wish to part with them without resentment and in friendship." At this time Mohummud Saeed Khan, of Afzulgurh, who was a companion of the Ameer's, and a shrewd intelligent man, said, "To fail you now would be a disgrace to the Afghan name. It is an affair of honor. We will share your comforts or troubles, and will not complain of any service you put us to." The other Sirdars fell into the same view, and all signed a declaration and engagement to that effect: after which they all knelt, and joined in prayer. The Ameer then, leaving his reserve and baggage with Chundun Singh, sent Moohub Oollah Khan to bring the brigades of Mokhtar-ood-Doula from Marwar. He also deputed Meer Sudur Ood-deen, as an emissary to Dhurman Chela, and then, with a light force of cavalry of his own, and some Pindaras, he marched towards the Holkur camp, to settle matters with the upstart, who had usurped authority there. With his light troops he intercepted the supplies of grain, and of grass, and forage, so that in a short time, the dearness of these articles in the Holkur camp Bazar produced general distress. The Pindaras were most active and useful agents in cutting off convoys of supplies, &c. and in attacking and plundering the surrounding villages, so as make the country in the neighbourhood unproductive to the enemy. They also carried off the camels and bullocks of the camp from their pasture grounds, and gave infinite annoyance to the Holkur army. One day the Ameer himself, having approached the Holkur camp, saw, as he sat reconnoitering, all the gun-bullocks, and a considerable number of camels brought out, with some battalions to protect their grazing. The heavy artillery of the army was also in position for

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their cover. The Pindaras came up to the Ameer, and said, "If you please, we will give you a specimen of our courage and address, and will bring off those bullocks from the very midst of the enemy's troops and artillery." The Ameer assented, in order to see how they would proceed, and went into the Chubootura of a Chutree (tomb), which was on an elevated spot close by, to look on. The Pindaras, putting their horses to speed, galloped immediately into the space between the artillery and the infantry escort, and there remained at ease, for the artillery could not open upon them, for fear of doing execution on the battalion beyond. Again, the infantry were afraid to open their fire, lest it should take effect on the artillery men. Thus the Pindaras, at their leisure, watching an opportunity, drove all the cattle away, and brought them to where the Ameer was seated. He was much amused at the issue, and passed high encomiums on their skill and conduct.

After some time passed in this manner, Dhurman Chela sent to the Ameer to ask what was his object in coming, and in the measures he was pursuing. The Ameer sent for answer, that he had no object but to wait in person upon Muharaj Holkur. "His health is, I learn, at this time much impaired—I wish to see him in person, and to endeavour to restore and re-assure him." Dhurman Chela, upon this, replied—"Nobody is allowed to see Juswunt Rao in his present unhappy condition." The Ameer thus saw that the Chela was not to be over-reached in that manner, he accordingly remained quiet for three or four days more, keeping up his blockade all round as strict as possible, and coming occasionally to an exchange of artillery and musquetry with parties of the enemy. The Chela finding it impossible to remain

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longer where he was, determined to seek refuge in Bhanpoora, which was a fortified place, and made arrangements accordingly for a march in that direction. At about two or three o'clock in the morning, while it was yet dark, he started with his army, forming a square, with his infantry on both sides, and the baggage, &c. in the centre. The Ameer seeing this, began to think that if the Chela should get safe into Bhanpoora, the war would draw to a length, and it would be difficult afterwards to get the better of him. He accordingly brought up all his cavalry and Pindaras, and surrounded the army as it marched, opening upon it with cannon and matchlocks whenever the opportunity offered, and so annoying it, that in the whole day its progress was but three kos. In the course of the march, Koosaba Bukhshee came over to the Ameer with one or two thousand horse. Dhurman Chela had put it about in camp, that the Ameer's object in coming, was to transfer the Baees (wives and concubines) of Juswunt Rao Holkur to his own Muhul, and to take possession of every thing for himself, and it was this report which made the soldiers stick by the Chela. The Ameer thus had only to satisfy the men, that he entertained no such base designs, and the affair was finished, for none adhered to Dhurman Chela, from personal affection, or a desire to forward his interests. No sooner, therefore, did the men see a person of credit like Koosaba Bukhshee join the Ameer, than they said to one another—"He must, after all, be a friend of the Holkur family, or such a man as the Bukhshee, who is devoted to his old master, would not have gone over to him." They accordingly determined, after consulting together, to go to the Baee, and to ask her the real state of things. Having forced their way into her presence, they called

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upon her to say frankly, and without reserve, whether the Ameer was come to pursue selfish schemes of his own, or by her invitation. The Baee was herself watched, and under restraint, but mustering courage for the occasion, she spoke out, and said—"I look upon the Ameer as my own child, and have sent for him to get rid of Dhurman Chela. Believe not a word that man may tell you." The consequence of this declaration was, that the influential men amongst the troops went immediately and seized Dhurman Chela, and brought both him and Sobha Ram, Darogha of the artillery, who had joined him, with their hands bound, to the Baee's presence. "Now," said they, "Do what you please with these two reprobates, and consider of some plan for defraying our immediate expences." The Baee had been plundered by Dhurman Chela, and therefore had no present means of settling with the troops, but she promised to make arrangements for their payment on the morrow, and told the men to keep their prisoners till then. That same night she sent a confidential person to the Ameer to tell him what had happened, and of her promise as to the money. The Ameer, looking upon this as a special interposition of Providence in his favor, was much pleased, and sending for all his troops, he told them that, by God's blessing, the matter was settled, without further fatigue or trouble to them. All that was immediately required, he said, was fifty thousand rupees for the pressing exigencies of the troops, and unless that sum could be raised, there would be no satisfying them. The Ameer's men said—"We are your's for life and property, but you know well our condition." The Ameer said—"This affair must, however, at any rate, be settled some how—suppose each Suwar agrees to come down with two rupees." The thing was so settled, and

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sixty thousand rupees were levied in that manner. Those who had no money by them, still deeming the matter to be one that concerned the Afghan name, pawned or sold any rings, trinkets, or little articles they had, that they could dispense with, so as not to fail in their subscription. The Ameer, reserving out of this fund something for the necessary expences of his own army, sent the rest to the Baee, who divided it amongst the troops, and delivered over the two prisoners to the Ameer. He transferred them however to the men themselves, telling them it was an affair to be judged by the soldiers of Holkur's army, who felt for the honor and interests of the family. The prisoners were, accordingly, both put to death. (1)

The Ameer having thus settled this affair to satisfaction, had a personal interview with Muharaj Juswunt Rao Holkur, whom he found incurably insane. He then settled the affairs of the family in concert with the Baee, and to her complete satisfaction. She was pleased at this time, in recompense for these services, to confer on the Ameer's son, Vuzeer-ood-Doula, the pergunas of Jaora, (2) Sunjeet, (3) Tal-mundawur, (4) &c. and the Ameer, leaving them under the management of Iftukhar-ood-Doula Mohummud Ghufoor Khan, as agent for his son, moved into Mewar. Doulut Rao Sindheea, who had himself come to Ajmeer, and had sent Bapoo Sindheea

(1) Sir John Malcolm, who gives a most circumstantial account of the execution of Dhurman Chela, though, as usual, without mentioning any date—says it was by Toolsa Baee's special order that both he and Sobha Ram were executed. The date of their death appears from the reports of the Resident at Delhi to have been the 31st March 1810.

(2) جاورہ (3) سنجیت (4) تال مندوار

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with a force to Jawudh, partly to act in co-operation for the succour of Rughoojee Ghoosla, as stated, and partly to take advantage of the state of things in the Holkur camp, in consequence of Dhurman Chela's disturbance and usurpation, no sooner saw this latter affair settled, and the Ameer marching into Mewar, than he moved off with precipitation, and in evident alarm took refuge under the fort of Gwalior. The Ameer then dismissing the Pindaras to their homes, moved by rapid and successive marches with his own troops, and the army of Holkur in company, towards Gangroulee, (1) in Mewar, where he encamped.

Here he was joined by Colonel Mohun Singh, and by his father-in-law Mohummud Ayaz Khan, who had been left as related in its proper place, with a brigade and a Rusala, to make collections and reduce to submission the territory of Kooroo, at the extremity of Marwar, which tract had been assigned in Jageer to the Ameer's son, Vuzeer-ood-Doula. They had quarrelled, and both came in, lightly equipped, by the road of the mountains, to lay their case before the Ameer. The Compiler of this Narrative came along with the Colonel.

The Ameer's affection for his son was so great, that he sent at this time for his family from Sheergurh, and detaching Raja Buhadur Lal Singh, with his brigade, into Oodeepoor, he left his own army and that of Holkur where it was encamped, and with a lightly equipped force started himself for the same place. His son having

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(1) گانگرولی

(1) Perhaps the Gungar of Colonel Tod's Map.

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received from the Raja of Kota a Peshkush of two elephants, with silver houdas, and other articles to correspond, came and joined his father at Oodeepoor. The Ameer was greatly rejoiced at the sight of this fresh rose of the garden of his hopes. The above events bring down this history to the year of the Hejira 1226. (1)

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(1) A. D. 1811, 26th January to 15th January 1812. This date will be a mistake for 1225 Hejira, that of the previous chapter having been 1224. All the events related fell within 1225, which commenced on the 6th February 1810, and closed on the 25th January 1811.

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BOOK THE EIGHTH.

CHAPTER III.

1810—1811—1812.

The Ameer has an interview with Muharana Bheem Singh, of Oodeepoor—Settles for his subsidising a brigade, and paying four annas of his revenue—Death of the Princess of Oodeepoor—Siege of Dumkola—Its fall —The Afghans mutiny—March to Jypoor—Settlement with the Raja, and siege of Lawa by the brigades of Mookhtar-ood-Doula.

THE Ameer having had an interview with Muharana Bheem Singh, the ruler of Oodeepoor, represented to him that a main cause of his country suffering was, that it was the prey of all strange armies passing through it, and of those who were invited by its defenceless state to come there, and pillage, and live at free quarters; that it was, therefore, obviously for the Rana's interest to take one of his brigades into pay, and so restore order, and make his authority respected: that the brigade would both enforce the collection of his revenues, and save him from the insults, and over-bearing conduct of every Military Chief, that chose to pass through Mewar. The Ameer

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offered to be responsible for remedying all the evils of which the Rana complained, and to furnish a brigade for the purpose, on the condition of receiving a share of the revenues ; and the Rana thinking the offer a God-send, agreed at once to give a quarter (four annas,) of all his collections, and further made an exchange of turbands with the Ameer in pledge of friendship.

The Ameer having thus arranged this matter to mutual satisfaction, and having won the Rana to his confidence, told him, that his quarrel with Raja Man Singh would never be settled, so long as his daughter lived, that it behoved him, therefore, out of regard for the interests of his Raj, no less than for the honor of his family, to put her to death—" If you do not," the Ameer added, " it will be my duty, connected as I am with Raja Man Singh, to seize her by force, and carry her away in a palkee to Joudhpoor, that the Raja may there complete his marriage with her." The Rana at first said—" I would willingly give my own life if the sacrifice were required, but I can never consent to my daughter marrying that Chief, and as for your carrying her off by force, it would disgrace my family in perpetuity. " But," he added, after reflecting on the matter, " if you will pledge yourself to get for me Khalee Rao (1) from Raja Man Singh, I will in that case contrive to get rid of my daughter after you shall have gone, using such means as shall create as little odium as possible." The Ameer agreed to the condition, and the Rana, after his departure, caused poison to be mixed with his daughter's food, and so administered it to her. It happened, that what she took was not sufficient

(1) كهالي راو

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to effect the purpose, and the Princess guessed the object of her father; whereupon she sent him a message, that as it was a matter that concerned the good of his Raj, and the honor of his family, and it appeared that her living longer was inconsistent with these in her father's opinion, there was no occasion for him to have gone secretly to work; for that she was prepared to die by her own act immediately. Accordingly having bathed, and dressed herself in new and gay attire, she drank off the poison, (1) and so gave up her precious life, earning the perpetual praise, and admiration of mankind.

The Ameer on hearing of this considered how Khalee Rao was to be got for the Rana from Raja Man Singh, who was very loath to part with it. The Raja was at this time ill pleased with Mookhtar-oud-Doula Mohummud Shah Khan, and did not wish his brigades to be cantoned in Marwar. The Ameer accordingly sounded the Vukeel Anoop Ram Chobee, (2) who was then in attendance with him, and a negociation was entered into, which ended in an agreement to this effect, that the Ameer should receive

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(1) Both Colonel Tod and Sir John Malcolm give highly wrought accounts of the tragic end of the unfortunate Princess Kishen Koomaree, but neither gives the date, which seems to have been in June or July, 1810. In the Policy of Asia, a woman's life is but of small account: and more especially so amongst the Rajpoots of Western India, who habitually destroy their female children. Viewed with due allowance to this state of feeling and of morality, the advice given by the Ameer had much to palliate, if not to excuse it. The death of this Princess led to the pacification between Jypoor and Joudhpoor, and removed the great source of quarrel and confusion from one end of Rajisthan to the other. The Princess, according to Rajpoot notions, could have had no other husband, but one or other of these two Rajas, and as neither was possible, death was her only resource. Only the other day, an overture was made for a marriage between the present young Raja of Jypoor and a Princess of Bikaneer. The match was broken off by some Court intrigue, and as a necessary consequence the Princess took, or was made to take poison.

(2) انوپ رام چوبي

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ten lakhs of rupees per annum, in lieu of the territorial assignment of eighteen lakhs agreed upon for the pay of Mookhtar-ood-Doula's brigades, which had been taken as a subsidiary force for Joudhpoor, also that he should receive two and a half lakhs in money, in lieu of the Jageers assigned to the Ameer's son Vuzeer-ood-Doula. The Raja was to make no objection to the Ameer's brigades being sent into the country when and where required. These terms being agreed to by Raja Man Singh, he gave authority to his Vukeel to conclude an engagement to the above effect, and the Ameer thereupon ordered Mookhtar-ood-Doula from Meertha, where he had fixed his head-quarters, after concluding his service in Bikaneer, to Jypoor, for the settlement of his claims on that State. Colonel Mohun Singh, and the Ameer's father-in-law were at the same time dispatched to restore the Jageers to the Raja's officers, and to bring away their brigade and Rusala to Kishengurh. This brigade was soon after entertained by Raja Bishen Singh of Boondee, (1) for the expulsion of Bulwunt Singh, (2) one of his relations, who had seized and shut himself up in the fort of Nynwan, (3) and they undertook the seige of that place. In addition to these arrangements, Jumsheed Khan was left by the Ameer in charge of his interests in Mewar, and was appointed also Amil of Neemahera, (4) which is in that province.

While the Ameer was thus employed, the Baee returned with the Holkur army to Bhanpoora, and the Ameer laid

(1) راجه بشن سنگه راجه بوندي (2) بلونت سنگه

(3) نينوان (4) نيماهيرة

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siege to the fort of Dumkola, (1) in the Shahpoora territory, which, after a siege of four months, he took.

Khoda Buksh Khan, Mohummud Saeed Khan, Kootub Deen Khan, Bedar Khan, Fyzoolla Khan, Mooneer Khan, Nujeeb Khan, Khan Mohummud Khan, Dara Shah Khan, also Kumur-ood-Deen Khan, and some other Rusaladars, conspired about this time with Mohummud Khan, and the Yeka (independent) horse, and raised a mutiny for their pay. The Ameer had taken up his residence with his family in the fort of Dumkola then recently captured, and the mutineers sat down before the gate of the place in Dhurna, and nothing would satisfy them. The Ameer sent to Oodeepoor for the brigade of Raja Lal Singh to overpower the mutineers; but this officer, having his head full of conceit and pride, sent for answer, that he considered himself to be now in the Rana's service, and could only receive his orders from him, thus evading compliance. The Ameer upon this wrote to the Muharana, who forthwith discharged Raja Buhadur with his brigade, and he thereupon went with his men to the Nuwab Mookhtar-ood-Doula in Jypoor, and took his place again under that Nuwab's command.

The Ameer having his family with him in the fort of Dumkola, resolved, notwithstanding that his battalions of guards (Deohree troops), with Jumsheed Khan, Mohummud Saeed Khan, and several other of the Yeka horse, had kept aloof from the mutineers, and remained faithful, still that it would be better to place himself in their power, rather than come to blows. He accordingly came out of

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(1) د مکوله

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the fort, and spoke to them all individually and together, telling them that if they thought he had any store of money realized for himself, and concealed from them, they were at perfect liberty to seek and seize it, wherever they could lay hand upon any thing of the kind. The Afghans would not believe the Ameer, but getting his person into their power, began to treat him with great severity. The Ameer seeing this, sent off his son Vuzeer Ood-doula, with the rest of his family, to Tonk, under escort of the Deohree (household) battalions, and marched himself with the troops, being in Dhurna all the time, to the Kishengurh territory, which was plundered, and a tribute of seventy thousand rupees further levied on the Raja. Then, similarly levying tribute upon Shahpoora and Sabur Khutaree, (1) the Ameer entered the Boondee territory, and came to Sumundee Doongur and Nynwan. (2) Being joined here by the brigade of Colonel Mohun Singh, and by Mohummud Ayaz Khan's Rusala, which had recently been discharged by the Boondee Raja, the Ameer demanded tribute from that Chief, and after realizing it, turned into the Jypoor country, and arrived at Todree (3) and Chand-sein, (4) where he made a similar demand upon the Ooneeara (5) and Eshurdah (6) Chiefs, and then encamped at Nuwaee. (7). Here he made preparations for a compulsory settlement with Jypoor, and summoned for

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(1) سابرکھاری

(1) Query.—The Sawur and Kairo of Colonel Tod's map.

(2) سمندي د نگرونینوا ن متعلقه ضلع بوندي

(2) Query.—Samdee and Doogaree of Colonel Tod.

(3) تودري (4) چاندسین (5) راجه اونیاره

(6) ایشرده (7) نوائی

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that purpose Nuwab Mookhtar-ood-Doula and the brigades under him, which were in garrison at Hindoun and in other parts of the Jypoor territory. Having dispatched letters to this effect to the Nuwab, the Ameer marched himself to Chaksoo (1) with the troops attached to his own division, and with Mohun Singh's brigade. At Chaksoo he adjusted with Megh Singh and other officers of Jypoor, that twelve lakhs should be paid for that principality, and he realized the amount through the banker, Heera Chund Seth, (2) who was attached to Mookhtar-ood-Doula's force. Having thus settled the Jypoor tribute, the Ameer moved to the frontiers of Kishengurh, and Mookhtar-ood-Doula, hearing of the adjustment with Jypoor while he was advancing from Hindoun to meet the Ameer, turned back at the instigation of Rao Chutur Bhoj, (3) Ex-Dewan of Jypoor, and went against Newulgurh (4) and Khetree, in the Shekhawutee country.

In the midst of all this, upon some quarrel, Megh Singh was dismissed by Raja Jugut Singh, from the ministry in Jypoor, and retired to his own possessions, and every thing fell into irretrievable confusion: whereupon the Ameer ordered his son Vuzeer-ood-Doula to retire with the rest of his family from Tonk to Sheergurh, and then, returning from Kishengurh by successive marches to Toojar, (5) in Jypoor, he encamped near the Bandee rivulet: (6) the Nuwab Mookhtar-ood-Doula having taken Newulgurh, and realized the Khetree tribute with other demands on the Shekhawutee country, came and encamped close by the Ameer. Seeing the

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(1) چاکسو (2) هیرا چند سیٹھ (3) راوچتربهوج

(4) نولگڈھ (5) تجار (6) جوي باندي

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severity practised by the Afghans, who still held the Ameer in Dhurna, in which condition he had been kept now for eight months, the Nuwab settled the affair with them, by delivering over the hoondee for ten lakhs he had received from Joudhpoor, in lieu of the eighteen lakhs of territory, before settled as the subsidy for his brigades. The Ameer being thus released from the restraint and severities of the mutineers, went to the Nuwab's camp, and fired salutes for joy, till the earth shook to its center with the reports of the discharges. The Raja and people at Jypoor, who heard the reports of the artillery, were in great consternation, and remained all night under alarm. In the morning, when they learned the cause of the firing, they sent Beohra Deena Ram (1) to the Ameer to negociate; but the Ameer after waiting some time, seeing no prospect of a speedy settlement of his claims in that way, moved with his whole army to Sanganeer, and prepared to proceed to extremity against Jypoor. Driving off from that neighbourhood the troops of the Raja stationed there, he came to Beohra Deena Ram's garden, by the route of Eendur (2) and there put up. The Jypoor officers were now in great alarm, and agreed to a settlement for ten lakhs of rupees through Beohra Deena Ram, who had accompanied the Ameer's camp from Toojar. Six lakhs of this were settled by the Ameer as the Jaeedad, or permanent provision, for Mookhtar-ood-Doula's force, the rest was assigned as a fund for the pay of Jumsheed Khan and Dara Shah Khan, Rusaladars, and Khyr Mohummud Khan and others, of the Yeka, or independent horse, who had remained faithful when the Ameer was in Dhurna. Mookhtar-ood-Doula undertook for the realization of the promised funds.

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(1) بیوهره دینا رام (2) ایندر

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The Ameer having brought this matter to a settlement, proceeded to Lawa, (1) a dependency of Jypoor, which he reached in two or three marches. It was the Ameer's intention to have attacked the place, sword in hand, immediately upon his arrival, but by Mookhtar-ood-Doula's advice, who observed that, if carried in that way, a sack would follow, and nothing be obtained for the public treasury, he gave up that scheme. The Ameer now, detaching some of his own troops under Dara Shah Khan to make collections in Mewar, remained with about two thousand horse, and with Jumsheed Khan and the Afreedees in company, waiting for the realization of the funds for their arrears of pay, and having invested Lawa with these troops, and those of Mookhtar-ood-Doula, he tried two or three assaults on the fort, all of which failed in consequence of the strength of the wall, and the depth of the ditch. Much time was thus lost before Lawa. In this interval, Raee Data Ram, who had been sent to Joudhpoor with Mookhtar-ood-Doula's assignment to the mutineer Afghans upon the subsidy agreed to by Raja Man Singh for the pay of the Nuwab's troops, (ten lakhs), raised the money required upon that instrument, and was returning with it, when intelligence reached camp of the decease of Juswunt Rao Holkur, and the Compiler of this Narrative, who was then doing duty with the brigade of Raja Mohun Singh, made some verses to record the date of this event (1227 (2) Hejira.)

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(1) لاوہ

(2) It cannot be necessary to give them. The date is contained in the words بیک چشم زدن in the twinkling of an eye. For the credit of the Poet Shadan's taste and delicacy, one cannot suppose that in the selection of these words there is any allusion to the fact of Juswunt Rao having had but one eye. He died on the 20th October, 1811, according to Grant Duff, and on the 27th October, according to the reports of the Resident at Dehlee.

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Kureem Khan Pindara having collected a large body of troops, was attacked and defeated by Sindheea's armies, and came after his disaster, attended by about two hundred horse, to the Ameer's camp: whereupon Doulut Rao Sindheea, Raj-Rana Zalim Singh, the Holkur Baee, and the English, all united in urging the Ameer to seize and deliver up this free-booter. The Ameer not thinking it consistent with his honor or reputation to subject the Chief to restraint, or to deliver him up, kept the Pindara and his followers with him, and wrote back to Sindheea and to the Raj-Rana, that now he was in camp (1) with the Ameer, they need be under no apprehension of his committing any violence or outrage. Many of the Ameer's advisers recommended the seizing and delivering of this Chief; the Ameer, however, could not be brought to consent, but came to an understanding with him, and bad him remain where he was.

To return now to the camp before Lawa. The money settled with Jypoor was not paid with punctuality, whereupon Jumsheed Khan, and the others who had assignments thereon, conspiring together, seized an opportunity to make themselves masters of the person of the Nuwab Mookhtar-ood-Doula, who had made himself responsible to them, and holding a dagger to his breast, swore they would not release him till paid to the full. The Ameer had by accident gone to the Nuwab's camp, just at the time when this mutiny broke out. On arriving there, at about three or four o'clock in the day, he learned what had passed, whereupon reflecting that, if he were seen going about in the camp at the time, the army would give

(1) Kureem Khan's defeat and arrival in the camp of Ameer Khan, occurred towards the end of December, 1811, and was reported in the early part of 1812.

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him the credit of having instigated the mutiny, he determined to keep out of the way, and not to return to his own camp. He accordingly went to the tents of Fyzoollah Khan Bungush, and there staid till the tumult was over. As the Ameer anticipated, the men of the brigades under Mookhtar-ood-Doula's command, taking it for granted that the violence done to their General was at the Ameer's instigation, surrounded his tents, and pointed their artillery against them, declaring that, until Mookhtar-ood-Doula was released, they would hold the Ameer in custody. All night they continued committing great outrages and excesses, thinking they had the Ameer a prisoner within. The Afghans, on the other hand, retained the person of Mookhtar-ood-Doula, keeping him with a dagger at his breast a close prisoner. At last, they were brought to agree to release him, on the condition of having made over to them Raee Data Ram, the Ameer's Moonshee, with Mookhtar-ood-Doula's nephew (sister's son), Mohummud Yar Khan, and Juwahur Singh, Heera Chund Seth's Gomasta, as hostages. The Ameer sent for the Raee, and said, unless he agreed to sit under Dhurna, in Mookhtar-ood-Doula's place, neither that officer nor himself could be free; he hoped therefore the Raee would for the good of the service become a hostage, as required. The Raee, in his zeal for the Ameer, acquiesced, and with Mohummud Yar Khan, and Juwahur Singh, was held in custody by Jumsheed Khan and the other Afghans, and thus both the Ameer and Mokhtar-ood-Doula were relieved from their present difficulties. But in the midst of this, the men of Raja Mohun Singh's Brigade began also to be clamorous for their pay, and at the instigation of Mahommed Ayaz Khan, the Ameer's father-in-law, they placed their Colonel, the Raja, under restraint at Toduree, in Jypoor, the Rusaladar being induced by his

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old enmity, and by the remains of the quarrel before mentioned, to become a party to this violence. The writer of this Narrative was then the agent for Mohun Singh's brigade at the camp of the Ameer. He applied, therefore, to the Ameer to procure the Raja's release from the durance he suffered; and, this being effected after a time, Raja Mohun Singh resigned the service, not choosing—and, indeed, not deeming it safe to hold his command any longer. He went to Mookhtar-ood-Doula's camp, and the command of the brigade was given to Mohummud Ayaz Khan, the Ameer's father-in-law.

Nuwab Jumsheed Khan, Mohummud Saeed Khan, and the other Rusaladars, who held Raee Data Ram and his two companions as hostages for their arrears, marched towards Neemahera, in Mewar, and the Ameer dispatching the main body of his special troops under Dara Shah Khan, Rusaladar, into Mewar, to make collections, started himself with a light force, taking Kureem Khan in company, by Tonk and Indurgurh to Kota, where he had a long and satisfactory interview with Raj-Rana Zalim Singh. Halting there four days, he proceeded to Bhanpoora, where Juswunt Rao Holkur had recently died, and paid his respects in a visit of condolence to the Baee, his widow. After a stay there of a few days, he suggested to Kureem Khan Pindara to stay there, and to send along with himself Namdar Khan, and his other lieutenants and relations, when he promised to introduce them to his old ally Raja Doorjun Sal Keechhee, who was at the time in rebellion against Doulut Rao Sindheea, and to whom they would be useful auxiliaries in plundering and distressing Sindheea's districts, and so might freely revenge themselves for his wrongs. Kureem Khan was well pleased with the scheme, and consented to remain at

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Bhanpoora—whereupon the Ameer put him under the nominal restraint of a guard from Iftukhar-ood-Doula Ghufoor Khan's troops. The Ameer then went over to Sheergurh, with Namdar Khan, Shuhamut Khan, and the rest, and met Doorjun Sal, to whom he transferred the Pindara Chiefs, telling him they would do him good service, and that great things might be expected from their co-operation. To the Pindaras, on the other hand, he said—"I commit the Raja's cause into your hands, do you act in concert against your common enemy." The Ameer also gave to Namdar Khan a letter from himself to Vuzeer Mohummud Khan, of Bhopal, recommending these Pindaras to his attentions. The Ameer, on this occasion, conferred on Mohummud Saeed Khan the title of Shums-ood-Doula Zufur Jung, (1) and on Suroor Khan, that of Surfuraz-ood-Doula Tegh Jung, (2) and the latter he deputed to be Amil of Seronj in lieu of Moonuwur Khan, whom he sent for to camp.

Mookhtar-ood-Doula, who had been left in command of the army before Lawa, fearing for the mutinous disposition of his troops, broke up that siege, and went off to the Kishengurh territory. Holkur's heavy artillery were now detached by the Ameer, with Mohun Singh's late brigade, and the other troops, under the command of Mohummud Ayaz Khan, his father-in-law, into the Rajaotee(3) dependencies of Jypoor, to make collections. The authorities at Jypoor still made delays and excuses in the payment of the tribute they had agreed

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(1) شمس الدوله ظفرجنگ (2) سرفراز الدوله تیغ جنگ

(3) The Rajaotee Sirdars are blood relations of the Raja, in whose favor alienations and assignments of territory have been made in different reigns: their possessions lie chiefly to the southward of Jypoor, and the Ooneeara Chief is at their head.

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to, and replied to the Nuwab Mookhtar-ood-Doula's Vukeel, who went to receive the money, that it would never be paid, unless the heavy artillery under the Ameer's father-in-law were brought against the city. The Nuwab, accordingly, marching to Sambhur, made arrangements for bringing on the heavy guns, and the brigade which escorted them, to assist his levies and exactions. They were attacked on their march by a body of Jypoor troops, (1) commanded by Thakoor Chand Singh, whereupon Raja Buhadur Lal Singh, who had been left to blockade Lawa, and had reduced the place to such extremity, that it must soon have fallen, hearing of the danger in which the heavy artillery were, settled with the besieged for a present payment of eighty thousand rupees, and then breaking up his lines, marched for the relief of the Ameer's father-in-law, Mohummud Ayaz Khan, who was pressed by Chand Singh, and soon made the Jypoor forces retire.

While these events were occurring in Rajisthan, the Nagpoor army proceeded against Raja Murdun Singh of Gurakota, and reduced him to such extremity, that he applied to the Ameer for succour. The Ameer leaving Sheergurh, joined the army of Holkur at Shahpoora, and there conferred the title of Raja on his Jemadar of the hurkarus, Man Singh, and then detached the Rusala with him, and some fresh troops he had entertained under Suroor Khan, to relieve the Raja of Gurakota. Having done this, he returned to Sheergurh, where he was joined by Nuwab Jumsheed Khan, who not being able to get his arrears, came from Neemahera to say, that he would give back the three hostages, that had been delivered into his hands,

(1) This occurrence is reported by the Resident in a letter dated 5th May, 1812: it will have taken place in the preceding month.

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for whatever sum the Ameer might be pleased to pay for their release. The Ameer procured a lakh of rupees from Kota and paid it to him, and then sending for Raee Data Ram, dispatched him to Kota, where he was presented to Raj Rana Zalim Singh.

The Ameer now received intelligence of the death in action before Kudum-Gurhee(1) of Dara Shah Khan, who had the command of his personal troops in Mewar. He accordingly went to Bandul-Gurh,(2) and took the command himself there. Soon after, leaving his main body under command of his sister's son, Ahmed Khan, to make collections in Shahpoora, he went with a light corps to Ajmeer, and visited the shrine of Khajeh Moyyun ood-deen Chishtee. Here he joined the camp of his father-in-law, which was in the neighbourhood, and gave him an assignment for twenty-five thousand rupees on the Kishengurh Raja, in satisfaction of the claims of his troops for arrears. Here also he had an interview with Bapoo Sindheea, who managed the district of Ajmeer for Doulut Rao. In the midst of these occurrences, the Ameer received very pressing invitations from Raja Man Singh, and accordingly, taking with him his father-in-law's late Rusala, he went by forced marches, with all dispatch, to Joudhpoor, which he reached on the third day. The occurrences above related, bring down the record of events to the Hejira year 1227.(3)

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(1) کدم گڈھی (2) باندل گڈھ

(3) The Hejira year 1227 commenced on the 16th January, 1812, and closed on the 4th January, 1813. This chapter contains the events of two years.

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BOOK THE NINTH.

THE AMEER'S PROCEEDINGS IN JOUDHPOOR & JYPOOR.

CHAPTER I.

1812—1813.

The Ameer's arrival in Joudhpoor and reception by Raja Man Singh—Operations of Mookhtar-ood-Doula against a Jypoor Army—The Ameer joins by forced marches—The Jypoor troops driven back—Peace and double marriage between Joudhpoor and Jypoor.

WHEN the Ameer approached Joudhpoor, Raja Man Singh received him with the usual Istuqbal and other attentions, and assigned for his residence and encampment the Pasban Bagh, (1) which is near the city. After a day or two, he admitted him to a private audience, and stated that his Bukhshee, Singee Induraj, had latterly given him great cause for dissatisfaction, that he was disobedient, and had embezzled large funds; and he concluded with a proposition, that the Ameer should sieze his person, and extort money from him in payment of what was due on

(1) پاسبان باغ

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the Raja's engagements. Raja Man Singh stated his desire to appoint Sheeoo Chund Bhandaree (1) to be the Bukhshee's successor. The Ameer replied—"Do not you know the proverb (2) of the monkey that would turn carpenter? It may be that the Bukhshee is a little untractable, but he is an able man, and you will not get every one to serve you so well." The Raja yielding for the time, kept the Bukhshee in office.

While the Ameer was thus employed at Joudhpoor, the men of Raja Buhadur Lal Singh's brigade, who after the siege of Lawa, had marched into Rajaotee against the Jypoor troops collected under Chand Singh to intercept the train, began a serious disturbance for their arrears of pay. Despairing of getting their dues paid in any other way, they proposed to sell their guns to the Raja of Bhurtpoor, and then to disband themselves. Siezing their Colonel, and placing him in restraint, they marched away towards Bhoosawur, (3) in the Bhurtpoor territory, with all their guns and ammunition. Hearing of this disturbance, Mookhtar-ood-Doula Mohummud Shah Khan came to Tonk, with an inconsiderable force under Mehtab Khan, and other officers, to make arrangements for the exigency. Thakoor Chand Singh, however, thinking the opportunity favorable for his purposes, came from Jypoor to Malpoora (4) on the pretence of repairing its fortifications, and there collecting a considerable force, advanced to the attack of Mookhtar-ood-Doula, whose force being, as

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(1) شيو چند بهند اري

(2) This story will be found in the Anvari Sohelee, and likewise in the Heetopudésa.

(3) بهوساور (4) مالپوره

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stated, comparatively weak, he retired upon Tonk, and there made his stand under the protection of its walls. The enemy, however, being still too numerous, he was compelled to retire into the new fort (1) built by the Ameer, and called Ameer-Gurh, which is near the city, taking with him Colonel Mehtab Khan, Meean Ukbur Mohummud Khan, and other Sirdars, and accompanied likewise by Mohummud Khan, the Ameer's Amil of Tonk. From the fort he sent hurkarus with all dispatch to inform the Ameer of the difficulty he was in, and likewise wrote to Raja Buhadur Lal Singh to come to his relief. Thakoor Chand Singh having pillaged the town, laid formal siege to the fort of Ameergurh.

The effect of these successes of the Jypoor troops was most prejudicial to the Ameer's interests throughout all Rajisthan. The Raja of Kishengurh, with characteristic folly, was tempted by it to endeavour to cut off the Ameer's father-in-law, who had come to Kishengurh, with not more than one hundred attendants, to endeavour to raise money, in order to satisfy the clamours of his troops. He caused his house to be attacked in the night by surprise; but, although there is a wide difference between waking and preparation, and sleep and security, still the truly brave are never unprepared, and Mohummud Ayaz Khan, with his party, making a successful stand, drove off the assailants, gaining for themselves a high repute for promptitude of determination, and for their intrepidity.

The Ameer was much vexed when he heard of all these untoward events. He immediately dispatched

(1) It will be recollected that this fort is on the site of the old fort of Bhoom Gurh, which formed the citadel of Tonk. The successes of Chand Singh compelled Mohummud Shah Khan to take refuge there, and to stand a siege in July and August, 1812.

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letters to his principal officers, ordering them to go to the succour of Mookhtar-ood-Doula without a moment's delay, and he sent similar orders to Mohummud Saeed Khan, the Amil of Seronj. To Raja Man Singh he applied for an aid of funds, and for leave to depart for the scene of action. In the mean time Raja Buhadur Lal Singh, who had been carried by his troops in durance to Bhoosawur, in the Bhurtpoor country, they threatening to sell their guns to that Raja, as related above, contrived by some means to make a temporary arrangement with the mutineers, and brought his brigade by forced marches towards Tonk. Chand Singh hearing of his approach, retired precipitately towards Jypoor, without waiting for his arrival, (1) but returning quickly with reinforcements, ventured to bring the brigade to action, after it had reached Rampoora on its way to relieve Umeergurh. Raja Buhadoor Lal Singh who was an experienced soldier, advanced against the enemy with drag ropes to his guns, whereupon, after a few rounds, the whole of the Jypoor troops dispersed and fled. The Nuwab Mookhtar-ood-Doula being thus relieved, joined Raja Buhadur's camp, and passing the encomiums due on the conduct of the troops, led the brigade immediately into the Jypoor territory to Laneea, (2) about six kos from Tonk, which he plundered. Proceeding further into the country, he commenced making collections all round. Thakoor Chand Singh to prevent this, came with a force, and encamped

(1) These operations are reported by the Resident at Dehlee on the 10th September, 1812, and will have occurred in the end of August preceding. There is nothing in the Resident's reports to impugn the accuracy of this account of all these transactions. Indeed, the whole of this part of the Ameer's Memoirs is extremely valuable, as containing the only connected history that exists of the events of this period, in the only part of India where events of any interest were occurring.

(2) لانیا

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about two or three kos from Mookhtar-ood-Doula, laying himself out to impede his march, cut off his detachments, and intercept the supplies of grain and forage going to his camp. The Ameer at this time leaving Raee Data Ram at Joudhpoor, in consequence of Raee Himmut Raee's illness, and taking with him the Raee's nephew, Bhooanee Purshad, went on the wings of dispatch towards Jypoor, and came to Gugwanee (1) in Ajmeer, where he found his army collected under the orders previously dispatched, and where he was joined by Mohummud Saeed Khan from Seronj, who had also been summoned. Thence advancing with his special troops into Jypoor, he joined the Nuwab Mookhtar-ood-Doula at Salee Sakhon, (2) which belongs to Jypoor. Thakoor Chand Singh (3) immediately on learning the Ameer's arrival, disappeared from the neighbourhood, and fled to the city. The Ameer now consulted with Mookhtar-ood-Doula, and proposed first to punish the Raja of Kishengurh for his attempt on the Ameer's father-in-law. The Nuwab highly approved the scheme, deeming it necessary for example, not to pass over this Raja's conduct. The Ameer accordingly ordered his brigades into the Kishengurh territory, and himself making a forced march, carried Araeen (4) by assault, and obtained a large booty,

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(1) ككواني

(1) Query—the Gungwana of Colonel Tod, close on the borders of Kishengurh.

(2) سالي ساكهون

(3) Chand Singh kept the field against the Ameer until the end of November, 1812—when, for want of money, he was compelled to retire to Jypoor.

(4) ارائين

(4) Arrye in Colonel Tod's Map, and erroneously included in the line of the Jypoor frontier.

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the place being full of valuable articles. The sum of eighty thousand rupees was now exacted from the Raja as a mulct in addition to his usual tribute, and Mohummud Saeed Khan was after this operation sent back to Seronj. The brigades were next directed against Boodara, (1) on the Jypoor frontier, which is a fort on a hill, with a wall and a ditch both within and without, while the Ameer with his own troops, and those of Moonuwur Khan, the late Amil of Seronj, went against Rajmuhul, (2) in Jypoor, and carried the place. Mookhtar-ood-Doula on approaching Boodara, found the garrison drawn up outside to oppose him. Having driven them in, he made his approaches and opened trenches against the place, and at last having sprung a mine, the soldiers of the faith, that is, the men of the Nuwab's brigade, stormed the town and carrying it, pursued the besieged into the fort, which they mastered likewise, and the enemy then evacuated the place altogether, leaving all their stores, and a large booty, in the hands of the conquerors.

The Ameer after mastering Rajmuhul, encamped on the bank of the Bunas, where he was joined by Mookhtar-ood-Doula's brigades. Thence marching by Chandwan and Ajmeeree, (3) levying contributions and settling tribute, the Ameer proceeded to the seige of Bejoon (4)

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(1) بودارہ

(1) Query—Bootade of Colonel Tod's Map.

(2) راج محل

(2) On the Bunas River, south-west of Tonk.

(3) چاندنان واجميري (4) بيجون

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in Jypoor, which was carried by storm. Thence Mookhtar-ood-Doula was detached with the remaining brigades towards Jooneer, (1) while the Ameer with the strongest; viz. that of Raja Buhadur Lal Singh, went against Kaluk, (2) from which place he levied tribute.

As it had now become evident, that no money would be levied with punctuality in Jypoor without establishing garrisons and cantonments throughout the country, the Ameer sent Mookhtar-ood-Doula towards Hindoun, with a general authority to settle and administer the Raja's possessions in that neighbourhood. He also assigned to Doondee Khan, Ex-Zumeendar of Kumona, (3) who had been expelled and ruined by the English, the forts of Hindoun and Mohummud-Gurh. Raja Buhadur Lal Singh and Meean Akbur Mohummud Khan, with their brigades, were stationed at Lal-Sonth, Busye, and Lowaye. (4) Colonel Mehtab Khan, with his brigade, was sent into the Shekhawatee country, and Meean Seyud Ulee Shah being placed in command of the brigade formerly under Raja Mohun Singh, was detached with Nuwab Jumsheed Khan into Mewar. At the request of Rao Luchhmun Singh of Seekur, Meean Moonuwur Khan and Daood Khan were ordered to Khundela, (5) to aid in the settlement of that country. The Ameer himself, also, soon after went towards the Sheekhawatee country, but as he was about to enter it, Colonel Mehtab Khan, who had settled to take a sum of money as a consideration for its exemption from plunder and from the levy of contributions, came to the Ameer to represent, that this money would be lost if he prose-

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(1) جونير (2) كالك (3) كمونه

(4) لعل سونڈھه وبسئي ولوائی (5) كهندله

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cuted his intention of penetrating into the tract. The Ameer upon this, made an assignment on the Colonel in favor of the men of his own army, and issued a general order, forbidding the latter from plundering, or committing any excesses in the country during their passage through it, so that there should be no interference with the Colonel's arrangements for compounding for its exemption.

In this interval, Raja Buhadur Lal Singh having established his cantonment and garrisons in the pergunnas about Jypoor, with posts in all directions, set himself to collect the revenues. The Jypoor authorities upon this assembled their forces, and the Ameer's General thinking his numbers inadequate, was retiring upon his garrisons, and had reached Chundlaee, (1) when Chand Singh came upon him, and an action took place. Mookhtar-ood-Doula had nobody to send to reinforce Raja Buhadur, except Doondee Khan; but Meean Akbur Mohummud Khan marched from Lal-Sonth, and joined him with all the troops he had, and the two officers concerting a plan of operations together, threw their reserve and baggage into a village near, and prepared their army for light service. Chand Singh thinking he had gained great advantage over Lal Singh, and that he was about to retreat, brought his troops to close action with cannon and musquetry, but the Raja and the Meean being both men of courage and experience, maintained their ground with determination, and returned the fire with such effect, that Chand Singh was beaten off. The Ameer himself, hearing of the Jypoor troops being again in the field, came with all haste from the Sheekhawatee country to Kaluk, and sent in advance Mohummud Umur Khan, (2) with a body of lightly equip-

(1) چندلائي (2) محمد عمر خان

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ped horse. Before he got near Chundlaee, Chand Singh had fled precipitately to Jypoor, leaving the victory to the Ameer's troops. The Ameer seeing the matter brought to this issue, sent back Singee Induraj, Raja Man Singh's Bukhshee, who had been detached by the Raja at his request to assist in reducing the Jypoor troops, and himself went to Chundlaee, and distributed rewards and praises, and a considerable sum of money amongst the troops, in acknowledgment of their bravery and good conduct. Salutes were fired on the occasion, and other rejoicings and congratulations took place, and the sounds of gladness rang in the vault of Heaven. Mookhtar-ood-Doula joined from Hindoun soon after, and the Ameer returning into Sheekhawatee, spent some time in laying siege to Luhurwas, (1) a dependency of Danta Ramgurh under Jypoor. A contribution of a lakh of rupees was levied on the place through Mohummud Ayaz Khan, and the Ameer then brought the brigade of Colonel Mehtab Khan to within five kos of Jypoor, and encamped.

Singee Induraj Bukhshee had at this juncture been sent from Joudhpoor to negociate for a double marriage between Jypoor and Joudhpoor, and was then in Jypoor for the purpose: an intrigue was at the same time set on foot by the Ameer, to recover for Misur Sheeonurayun (2) his place in the ministry of Jypoor: and encouraged by his support, this ex-Dewan came from Kochawun, (3) in Joudhpoor, and was placed at the head

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(1) لهرواس علاقه دانتا رام گڈھ (2) مصر شیو نراین

(3) کوچاون

(3) Spelt Kootchawun in Colonel Tod's Map, and lying in the extreme north-east of the Joudhpoor territory.

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of affairs. Through him, jointly with Singee Induraj, the Ameer's tribute was fixed at twelve lakhs of rupees, and Chand Singh, (1) who had given so much trouble, was expelled the city, and from all concern in affairs of the State. The Ameer sent Raee Data Ram, who had recently returned to camp from his native country, whither he had gone in consequence of the decease of his father, to Jypoor, to settle the channel of Muhajuns, through whom the tribute agreed upon was to be paid. The amount was divided and settled, to be paid, half to the Ameer's special troops, and half to the brigades, and assignments upon it were given accordingly. The Ameer then sent Mookhtar-ood-Doula to evacuate Hindoun, and the other places occupied in Jypoor, the restoration of all being the condition upon which the money was to be paid: and himself, with his own troops, and Colonel Mehtab Khan's brigade, went into Boondee, where he cantoned the brigades near Nugur-Nynwan. (2) The Ameer then proceeded to Sheergurh, where he spent some days with his family, but returned soon after to camp.

In the mean time Singee Induraj's negociation for the double marriage was making progress. Having settled the thing at Jypoor he returned to Joudhpoor, and brought Raja Man Singh to agree to give his daughter to Raja

(1) It appears, on reference to the reports of the Resident at Dehlee, that a party opposed to Chand Singh and Beohra Khooshalee Ram, at the head of which were the Ooneeara and Khetree Chiefs, with Mekh Singh and Chutoorbhoj, had been formed in March, 1813; and on the 6th August, the Resident writes, that they had compelled Chand Singh to retire, and were negociating for a settlement of disputes with both Man Singh and Ameer Khan. The Resident's account of the basis of arrangement proposed to Ameer Khan confirms the settlement here stated to have been made.

(2) د رضلع بوندي متصل نگرنينوا ان

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Jugut Singh, and to take that Raja's sister, and it was so arranged definitively. The two Rajas accordingly commenced their march from their respective capitals, and met at Mirwa and Roop-Nugur, (1) and their meeting (2) was conducted with all the ceremony and state usual with the Chiefs of this rank in Rajisthan. Both marriages were then duly solemnized, and there were rejoicings and revels, and great pomp exhibited on both sides. Raja Man Singh, who always treated the Ameer as a brother, sent to invite him to be present on this great occasion. The Ameer accordingly went to the place of meeting with two thousand horse, and two or three battalions for escort, and so came to Mirwa. Raja Man Singh gave him the Istuqbal, and received him with all the usual attentions, assigning him a place for encampment close to his own, on the banks of the lake there. After the first ceremonies were over, he sounded the Ameer about a visit to Raja Jugut Singh, and having undertaken the arrangement of the Istuqbal and other forms with that Raja, he negociated the meeting. Raja Jugut Singh at first objected to allow to the Ameer a seat on a footing of equality, though he agreed to give the Istuqbal, and embrace, and other ceremonies on the terms proposed, but in the end Raja Man Singh persuaded him to allow also the seat on the same Musnud, and having so settled it, this Raja himself communicated the result. Accordingly, when the Ameer was afterwards received by Raja Jugut Singh, there was

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(1) مروہ وروپ نگر

(2) The Resident at Dehlee reports these events in a letter dated 23d October 1813, their date may therefore be assumed to be towards the commencement of that month, but neither the time nor place of the two Rajahs meeting is stated any where in the correspondence with precision. The event is quite unnoticed by Colonel Tod, though he gives the history of both Rajas.

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not a tittle of the due ceremonies omitted. The Ameer sat on the Musnud with both Rajas, and the Jypoor Chief deemed it an honor, and a proud day to him and his destinies, so to be placed with the Ameer. On the following day, the Ameer himself prepared his tents, and received the Raja of Jypoor, who expressed himself in terms of great compliment to him, and said, "Although my affairs have become like milk and rice by the arrangement made with Raja Man Singh, and by this meeting with him, still you are the sugar that sweetens the mess." The Ameer made a suitable answer to this delicate and appropriate compliment. Thus the two marriages; viz. that of Raja Man Singh's daughter with Raja Jugut Singh, and Raja Jugut Singh's sister with Raja Man Singh, were solemnized, and peace was re-established between these great Chiefs of Rajisthan. The two Rajas then took their leave of each other, and each returned to his own capital. The Ameer went by the route of Ajmeer to join his army. These events bring down the course of our Narrative to the Hejira year 1228.(1)

(1) A. D. 1813—4th January to 23d December.

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BOOK THE NINTH.

CHAPTER II.

1813—1814.

The Ameer receives a letter from Shooja-ool-Moolk of Kabool, asking succour and offering the Mooltan Soobah—Is also applied to by the widow of Nuseer-khan, ruler of Balooch and Seestan, offering adoption, and the succession to those countries—The Ameer rejects both offers, finding Mookhtar-ood-Doula averse to the schemes—The Ameer proceeds to the camp of Mulhar Rao Holkur, and returns into the Jypoor country.

THE affairs of Jypoor and Joudhpoor being thus arranged, the Ameer went to his army in Boondee, and there received a letter from Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, of Kabool, asking succour to his cause in the war with his brother Muhmood Shah, about the partition of the territory and treasure of that kingdom. He also received at the same time, a letter from the widow of Nuseer Khan Baloochee,(1) the ruler of Seestan,(2) whose name was Zeenub

(1) نصیرخان بالوچی (2) سیستان

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Baee.(1) This lady hearing the fame of the Ameer, and that his character for courage and liberality was extolled in all quarters, tendered to him the inheritance and succession to her dominions, she having no children, nor other natural heirs. The Ameer looked upon both these letters as symptomatic of high destiny, and felt a strong desire to accept the offers. In preparation for a distant expedition, he wrote to Mookhtar-ood-Doula Mohummud Shah Khan, and likewise to Singee Induraj, and to Misur Sheeonurayun, the manager of Jypoor, and proposed to them to leave the first-named with an inconsiderable force in Rajisthan, assigning Tonk and Seronj for the maintenance of his troops, and then to proceed with the main body of his forces, all his artillery, and an auxiliary body of from two to four thousand Rajpoots to Kabool. The plan, however, was opposed by Mookhtar-ood-Doula, at the instigation of Singee Induraj, whose views at the time it did not suit. Misur Sheeonurayun also held back, and made excuses and delays, so that the execution of the project was obliged to be postponed. The Ameer wrote suitable answers to both letters, and from Boondee, prepared again to proceed against Nagpoor. Levying contributions by the way, he passed through the Lakheree Ghât, and there sending his main body under Mohummud Khan Rusaladar, to pass through Malwa, and levy what they could get on the march, the Ameer himself, with his cavalry, lightly equipped, went to the Dura Mukundura pass, where, having had an interview with Raj Rana Zalim Singh, of Kotah, he passed some days: after which he went on by Sonara(2) to Bhanpoora, the headquarters of Siwaee Mulhar Rao Holkur. The young Holkur, attended by the Nuwab Iftukhar-ood-Doula, the

(1) زينب بائي (2) سونارہ

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Ameer's agent in his camp, came out to meet the Ameer, and conducted him to a suitable place of alighting within the camp. The Ameer then waited upon the Baee, widow of Juswunt Rao, and arranged various matters with her. He sent also for his son, Vuzeer-ood-Doula Mohummud Vuzeer Khan from Sheergurh, in order to enjoy the satisfaction of his company, and after a short stay, went himself to Sheergurh to complete his preparations for another expedition against Nagpoor.

Here he was visited by a confidential emissary named Hafiz Jee, and by Kishen Das, who came in the capacity of Vukeels from Meer Kurum Ulee Khan, (1) the ruler of Sindh. (2) They brought presents, and asked military aid. The Ameer, in consequence, gave up his designs against Nagpoor, and determined to move in that direction, and to dispatch a Vukeel, on his own part, along with the two emissaries of Kurum Ulee. He selected Lala Chimna Purshad for the purpose, and sent him to Jypoor on the way.

The Ameer had given a draft upon Raee Data Ram, payable from the Jypoor tribute to Fuqeer Mohummud Khan, Rusaladar, for twenty thousand rupees: as there was delay in getting the money, he wrote more urgent letters to the Raee on the subject. The Jypoor officers

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(1) میر کرم علي

(2) Meer Futeh Ulee Khan Talpooree effected a revolution in Sindh in 1785, and ruled the country in association with his three brothers until 1801—after him, the second brother, Meer Gholam Ulee, took the lead and continued at the head of affairs till 1811—when he died. Meer Kurum Ulee and Morad Ulee, the two surviving brothers, then succeeded, but were opposed at first by Meer Sobdar Ulee, son of Futeh Ulee, and Meer Mohummud Ulee, son of Gholam Ulee. It will, probably, have been during these dissentions, that Meer Kurum Ulee opened a correspondence with the Ameer. The quarrel was adjusted by the

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availed themselves of the pretence, that the payment was conditional upon the surrender of all the places held by the Ameer's garrisons, and Hindoun was still retained by Doondee Khan, Ex-Zumeendar of Kumona. Accordingly, the Raee went to Mookhtar-ood-Doula's camp, near Hindoun, and explaining the matter to him, got Doondee Khan expelled from the forts and places he held, and then returning to Jypoor realized the money due, and sent what the Ameer required for settlement with his troops. Soon after this, the Ameer joining the camp of his special troops at Zerapoor Maeechulpoor, (1) in Malwa, made a forced march by the route of Anoop, (2) and pillaged Bhynsouda, (3) which belonged to Sindheea, and then returned to Bhanpoora, where he sent again for his son Vuzeer-ood-Doula from Sheergurh, and carried him with him to Shahpoora, and being joined there by Raee Data Ram, from Jypoor, he went by Nasureeda, (4) in Jypoor, to Ajmeer, and visited the shrine of Khoja Mooyyun-ood-Deen. Thence he went to Toojar, (5) on the Jypoor frontier, towards Kishengurh, and summoned to his presence Misur Sheeo-Nurayun, who had agreed to pay the Ameer a separate Nuzurana, on his being raised to the head of the ministry of Jypoor, independent of the

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assignment of Jageers to the two nephews of the elder houses, which they still hold. Kurum Ulee died in 1828, but Morad Ulee is still alive, and at the head of the *Meers* of Talpoor, who are the rulers of Sindh. In March, 1813, about a year before the date assigned by the text to this message from Sindh, the fortress of Omurkot was besieged and taken by the Sindh authorities from the Joudhpoor Raja.

(1) زراپور مایچل پور (2) انوپ (3) بھینسودہ
(4) ناصریدہ (5) تیجار

(5) This name may be Toojar, Nichar, Bujar, or any thing within the limit of the changes to which the first two letters are liable, and each is susceptible of four, according to the number and placing of the Nooktas, or diacritical points, which are quite omitted in the manuscript. The maps have no place answering to any of these varieties.

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tribute for the state. The Misur made excuses for several days, but at last came out with an escort of ten or twenty thousand horse and foot to a short distance from the Ameer's camp. For several days, upon some groundless suspicion of the Ameer's designs towards him, he did not make his visit, seeing which, the Ameer one day went into his camp alone, mounted on a dromedary, in the course of one of his rides, and so dispelled his foolish apprehensions. The Misur accordingly came, when sent for, on the following day, and a meeting took place to mutual satisfaction. But the Misur, who was a cunning double-dealing man, put the Ameer off with soft words and promises, and returned to Jypoor without paying the money required from him. The Ameer accordingly encamped for a few days at Kaluk, and commenced a negociation of this matter de novo, but as he was still unsuccessful in bringing the Misur to reason, he sent for Colonel Mehtab Khan's brigade, and for the reserve of Mokhtar-ood-Dowla's army from Boondee, and being joined by these troops advanced to within five kos of Jypoor, and prepared to enforce his demands by military coercion. The Misur was now sensible of his error, and begged the Ameer to send confidential people to negociate a settlement. Bhooanee Purshad was sent accordingly with Lala Goolab Raee, son of Raee Data Ram, who followed himself soon after, and one lakh and seventy-five thousand rupees were realized by their negociation, on account of the tribute money, and of the Misur's Nuzurana. Raee Data Ram, after staying a few days to arrange matters at Jypoor, rejoined the Ameer when the money had been paid. These events happened in the Hejira year 1229. (1)

(1) A. D. 1813—24th December to 13th December, 1814.

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BOOK THE NINTH.

CHAPTER III.

1814—1815.

Nuwab Mookhtar-ood-Doula moves from the Jypoor territory to Meertha, in Joudhpoor, to enforce demands against Man Singh—The Ameer goes to Kusoombhee and Lotoo in Beekaneer—Raee Data Ram sent to Joudhpoor to negociate the money demands against that State—Singee Induraj and other Officers of Joudhpoor anxious to get rid of Mookhtar-ood-Doula and his troops from the Joudhpoor territory—Their personal objections to the Nuwab—Sickness of Mookhtar-ood-Doula reported to the Ameer, who comes over in all haste to Meertha where that Nuwab dies—The Ameer proceeds to Joudhpoor—Puts to death Singee Induraj and As-Deonath in the fort, and then returns to Jypoor.

THE Nuwab Mookhtar-ood-Doula proceeded with his brigades and other troops from the Jypoor territory to Meertha, in Joudhpoor, which he reduced. He further established the authority of his officers, Fyzoollah Khan

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Bungush, and Meean Ukbur Khan, at Sambhur, Nanwa, (1) and other places, in order to compel the payment by Joudhpoor of the money subsidy agreed upon with Raja Man Singh. While they were thus employed, the Ameer himself went by successive marches to Kusoombhee, (2) and Lotoo, (3) and Bedhateer, (4) in Bikaneer, levying contributions all the way, till he reached the Gurhee (fort) of Khurbooza, (5) which he carried, and then continued his march to Gopalpoor (6) in the sandy desert. From this point he returned by the same route to Kusoombhee. The whole of this country is sandy, and the wells, rivers, and tanks are for the most part brackish and unwholesome, but by the good fortune which always attended the Ameer, wherever his men dug for water they found good and fresh springs, not much below the surface of the ground, so that no one suffered for want of water. The people of the country wondered at this, and said to themselves, this man must surely bring with him under ground the Ganges River. Pending these operations, Nuwab Mohummud Jumsheed Khan marched with his troops from Mewar to the Jypoor country, and there joined Rao Raja Luchhmun Singh, of Seekur, with whom a sum was agreed upon for the transfer of the fort of Khundela; and Jumsheed Khan then accompanied the Rao Raja into the Shekawatee country.

Singee Induraj, and the other authorities and officers of Joudhpoor, were much vexed to see Meertha and other places of Marwar occupied by Mokhtar-ood-Doula: they

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(1) نانوه (2) كسونبهي (3) لاوتو (4) بيدهاتير
(5) خربوزه (6) كوپالپور

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accordingly agreed with the Ameer to pay down three lakhs of rupees, on the condition of their evacuation. Raee Data Ram was sent to Joudhpoor to settle this matter and to realize the money: Having received it, he had got to Nagor on his way back to join the Ameer, when he learned, that intelligence had reached the Ameer that Mokhtar-ood-Doula Mohummud Shah Khan was dangerously ill; that he had accordingly put his army in march to join that officer, and himself, with three or four thousand lightly equipped cavalry, had gone with all haste to Meertha. The Nuwab Mookhtar-ood-Doula was on the point of death when the Ameer arrived. Kneeling at his bed-side, he prayed for his recovery, but as the cup of life was full to the brim of the potion of death, (1) the Nuwab had only strength to whisper a word or two in a feeble voice, when the insensibility of death came over him, and he continued in that state for three days before the breath finally left his body. Raee Data Ram hearing at Nagor, as stated, of the sickness of Mookhtar-ood-Doula, and of the Ameer's being with him at Meertha, came over to that place, and delivered the Joudhpoor Hoondees. The Ameer ordered a muster to be made of all his troops, and gave the Hoondees for distribution in payment of their arrears. There appeared by the muster rolls to be near fifty thousand infantry of the different brigades, and twelve thousand cavalry. The Ameer embodying into a corps the several battalions of Meean Akbur Mohummud Khan, which had heretofore been employed on detached duty with other brigades, formed them into a separate command for that officer, whose zeal and abilities had frequently fallen under his observation.

(1) Mohummud Shah Khan died towards the end of 1814. The exact date does not appear to have been reported, nor is it any where mentioned in the publications of the day, or in books since written.

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Having then given to Raja Buhadur Lal Singh, and to Colonel Mehtab Khan, and the other officers, such satisfaction as he could, he made provision for supplying the void created by the Nuwab Mookhtar-ood-Doula's death, and for settling his affairs. The whole of the Nuwab's property did not suffice for two months pay to the troops. The Ameer ordered the brigades of Raja Buhadur Lal Singh and of Colonel Mehtab Khan, with that of Meean Akbur Khan, and some other troops, to be quartered on Joudhpoor, and to form garrisons, and provide for their subsistence by collections in that neighbourhood. Sambhur, Nanwa, &c. were assigned, on lease, to Fyzoolla Khan Bungush and to Meean Ukbur Khan; and the Ameer leaving his young son, the Nuwab Vuzeer ood-Doula, with his family, in Nanwa, went himself with the main body of his troops towards Joudhpoor. When he reached the neighbourhood of that city, he was received with the usual ceremonies by Raja Man Singh, and encamped near the town, at the tank of the Shekhawuts.

The Ministry of Singee Induraj, and of As-Deonath Pundit, Raja Man Singh's spiritual adviser, (Gooroo), was become very odious to the people and Chiefs of Joudhpoor, so much so, that many of the Thakoors, such as Keshuree Singh and Huree Singh of Asop, (1) Bukhtawur Singh of Umboha, (2) Sooltan Singh of Humaj, (3) and Purtab Singh of Lodso, (4) formed a conspiracy against him, and were plotting his ruin. They all applied individually to the Ameer to aid their purpose, offering secretly thirty lakhs of rupees towards the

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(1) کیسریسنگه وهریسنگه اسوب واله (2) بختاورسنگه انبوه واله

(3) سلطان سنگه هماج واله (4) پرتابسنگه لودسو واله

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expences of the troops, under the condition of the Ameer's putting the Singee and the Priest out of the way. The Ameer said, that he could have nothing to say to such an intrigue, unless he should be solicited by the Ranee and by Koonwur Chhutur Singh (1) to take part in it. The Ranee and Koonwur were already greatly discontented with the Singee and Priest, and were kept by them indeed in a kind of restraint: thinking therefore the occasion a God-send, they deputed emissaries to urge the Ameer by all means to engage in the plot. (2) The Koonwur, further, came secretly in person with a Nuzurana for the Ameer, in order to intreat that he would not hesitate.

Seeing this state of things, the Ameer reflected, that if he had found Singee Induraj, and the Priest, inclined to forward his interests at the Joudhpoor Court, and to settle his claims fairly and honestly, he could not of course, either from policy, or on any principle of honor or rectitude, have taken part against them: but as it so happened that, instead of being friendly, they were filled with pride and conceit, and were mainly instrumental in setting Raja Man Singh against himself, and had further treated his applications for money with inattention and nonchalance,

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(1) کنور چھتر سنگھ

(2) It was represented by the Vukeels of Joudhpoor at Dehlee, the creatures, of course, of the party which prevailed by means of the assassination, that Raja Man Singh was privy, and had instigated the murder of Singee Induraj, and that the Gooroo's death was accidental, and not intended. The evidence of Ameer Khan sets this question to rest, and proves the death of both to have been the act of the Ranee's and the heir apparent's faction, in usurpation of the authority of the state, and to the subversion of Raja Man Singh's liberty and power. He only saved his life by affecting idiotcy. His son, however, died by the dagger, in 1818, pending negociations for placing Joudhpoor under British protection. Raja Man Singh then pretended, by degrees, to recover his faculties. He completed the treaty, and in 1820, inflicted signal vengeance on the usurping faction, very few escaped with life, and all who did so suffered forfeiture, and are now in exile and in poverty.

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spinning out the time with long and unnecessary delays: and since the Ameer had discovered that they entertained the design of removing himself by assassination, and had hired people for the purpose, and sent them into his camp with promises of money and villages if they succeeded, the Ameer, yielding to these considerations, felt inclined to proceed to extremities against the Minister and Priest. The Assassins they had employed were detected close by the Ameer's tents, coming to them by the tank of the Shekhawuts, which was near. Being observed skulking there by the guards and sentries, they were pursued and seized, and so brought bound into the Ameer's presence, and hence discovery of the plot was made.

Having resolved to take the part proposed to him against these two ill-advised men, the Ameer sent for Mohummud Saeed Khan, and Kootub-ood-Deen Khan, Afreedee Rusaladars, with some others, and explained to them in secret, that there seemed to be little prospect of realizing the army's claims upon Joudhpoor through Singee Induraj, and the Priest, As-Deonath, nor, without first getting rid of them both, through any other party in the Joudhpoor state; that it remained for themselves therefore to determine what should be done. The Rusaladars said they were ready to execute whatsoever the Ameer might propose, and to punish these two men forthwith if he desired it. The Ameer laid the following plan for executing his purpose. He said to the Joudhpoor Vukeel in camp, Anoop Ram Chobee, that he saw plainly that, without a personal interview, and in private, between himself and Singee Induraj, there would be no possibility of bringing matters to an accommodation, and of removing the mutual suspicions which

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existed: that, however, the men of his army would not let him go in person into the fort for the purpose, from apprehension that he would not be safe; in like manner he could not expect the Singee to come in person to his camp: "But," said the Ameer, "if you will come to me secretly in a covered Ruth, giving yourself out to be the mother of Gholamee Khan, I can get into the Ruth, and return with you unknown to the people of the camp, and so go to the Singee and settle matters with him in person, and remove all suspicions from his mind." The simple Vukeel fell immediately into this scheme, thinking the purpose of his master would be gained thereby. He went and reported the matter to the Singee, who seized on the plan with eagerness, and prepared a covered Ruth (carriage drawn by bullocks,) which was sent in the manner proposed, they thinking in their simplicity, that the Ameer would thus fall into their power, to be got rid of in secrecy to their heart's joy, and little dreaming of the trick in store for themselves from wayward fate. The victims were thus themselves made the instruments for their own destruction. When Anoop Ram Chobee arrived at the Ameer's tents in the Ruth, and urged his return, Raee Data Ram, who was present, asked what was the object of the Ruth's coming. The Ameer said—"It is only a plan of mine, to lay a net for these wily people by a display of confidence and cordiality, so that the cunning and cautious wild animals may be caught afterwards in the toils more readily. Think not I am going to trust myself alone in their power, and within their walls." The Raee said—"Your Highness always judges right." At this time some Afghans of the army, who had previously been instructed, came clamorously forward, and in the hearing of the Vukeel, called out—"See here! the Ameer has got a woman's covered Ruth to escape from

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us secretly in, he must not be suffered to go." The Ameer upon this whispered to the Vukeel—"Our secret you see is blown, at present my going seems to be out of the question: but if you have no objection, let some of my Rusaladars go to the Singee, and to As-Deonath, at their leisure, and let these ministers engage to them to pay the money due; they will thus be pacified, and may leave their Mootusudees (men of business) to realize the sum agreed upon, and I shall be able to get the army to march away from Joudhpoor. The Vukeel thought this would be a great thing gained, and went and reported the proposition to Singee Induraj, and to the Priest. They too thought it would be a great advantage, to allow the Rusaladars to have an audience, in as much as, if they could be satisfied by words and promises, and the army so be got rid of, the country would be relieved from its most pressing evil. Next morning therefore they dispatched the Vukeel to bring the Rusaladars to them—thus sending for their own executioners. The Vukeel came to the Ameer with the most specious and positive promises of payment, and by the Ameer's order Mohummud Saeed and Kootub-ood-Deen Khan, attended by ten or fifteen Afghans, men of courage and determination, went into the fort to hold conference with Singee Induraj and As-Deonath.

VERSES.

Far into the fort, to the chambers of rest,
Where no thoughts of danger its inmates molest,
A knot of Afghans are admitted to tread—
A dozen fierce Soldiers inured to bloodshed.
Induraj and the Priest set with these to discuss.
Says one—"Where's the money, don't trifle with us?"
Says another—"I value your promise as naught,"
"We are not the birds with such chaff to be caught."

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Says a third—"Cash I want, for my debts that now press,
Your promise will never relieve my distress."
All in short said the same, there was nothing like cash,
And cash they must have, to refuse it were rash.
Says the Singee—"My word is as good as the Bank's,
Here's my promise to pay—take ye this, and give thanks."
Says Kootub Deen Khan—"Hold your tongue for a cheat,
You ne'er paid a soul, but with lies and deceit."
And thereupon promptly Mohummud Saeed
To his heart drove a dagger, and so did the deed,
Then forth drew his sword, with one stroke felled the Priest,
Dispatching both victims—sans pity the least.
The Rajpoots assemble and shout with uproar,
Death! Death! to the Afghans, avenge the Rathor!
They crowd round the house, and with matchlock and gun,
Watch to slaughter the Bravos, this deed who have done.
But the window is narrow, and strong is the wall,
And within are stout hearts that no dangers appal.
Arm! Arm! now in camp—the Ameer beats the drum,
His troop to the city-gate galloping come,
There's death in his eye, a frown darkens his brow,
Imaus would tremble to look at him now.
There are Chiefs in the City with him who conspired,
Their plot was the murder, the Bravos they hired:
To the Raja they hasten, and humbly on knee
Beg mercy for them, though assassins they be—
"Blood enough has been shed; have pity," said they—
The Town's at his mercy, who planned this affray;
If vengeance be taken on these men of blood,
His host on the City will pour as a flood;
The Raja one minute his head sunk in thought—
Pride, policy, vengeance, within him long fought—
Thinks he "These are they who have done this foul deed,
Will they for their Country or my honor bleed?
If I bid them avenge these my servants thus slain,
Will they stand by me staunch, nor betray me again?
No! better dissemble, in silence resign,
And leave them to act as their hearts shall incline"—
Then turning, thus loudly the Lords he addressed—
"I feel my brain wander—do ye what is best."

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Their object thus gained, to the Bravos they hied,
And pledged them safe exit with oaths multiplied—
The men then came forth, each his weapon in hand,
Holding fast with the other a Chief's kummur-band.
The Ameer's brow is placid, success crowns his plan,
Back he hastens to camp without loss of a man.

In short, when Mohummud Saeed Khan and the other Afghans had gone into the fort along with the Vukeel, they were taken to the sleeping apartments of Singee Induraj at the kucherree, where he and As-Deonath were sitting, and there, after a short parley about payment of the money, both these ministers were dispatched. (1) The Afghans then retired into an apartment, which seemed calculated to afford them present security. At seeing what had occurred, the Singee's servants, and the troops raised a hue and cry, and carried intelligence to Raja Man Singh, surrounding the house, and firing at it with musquetry for some time; but, as it was a strong place, they did no mischief whatsoever to the Afghans within. The Ameer meanwhile got his troops under arms in expectation of the tumult, and came with a party of his horse into the city, and swore to the people, that, if any thing happened to the Afghans, he would sack the town, and attack the fort immediately. Upon this the Joudhpoor authorities, and especially those Sirdars who were in league with the Ameer, and who had instigated the assassination, went to the Raja, and represented, that as the Ameer's army was in strength at the city gate, the town would assuredly be sacked unless some composition were made. The Raja was a man of discretion, and yielded after a little reflection, being

(1) This assassination occurred in October 1815. The precise date is no where given.

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influenced mainly by the consideration, that the same Sirdars, whom he suspected of having instigated the assassination of his ministers, would scarcely stand by him, if upon this quarrel he were to bring matters to extremity with the Ameer and his Afghans. Pretending therefore not to know what he was about, he said that he felt incapable of determining what should be done, and told the Chiefs, who had come to him, to do what they thought best. They having thus obtained their object, went to the Afghans, and assured them of safety; and so, each man with his hand upon the waist of a Sirdar, (to ensure safe-conduct through the irritated mob) they were brought and delivered to the Ameer, who returned to his camp, well-pleased with the success of his stratagem to rid himself of his two enemies. Raja Man Singh from that time forth retired from affairs of state, and gave out that he was deranged; and in his conversation and actions, such as at meals and in bathings, he committed all manner of incoherencies and inconsistencies out of his common habit. Thus the Thakoors and Sirdars obtained full authority, and to the Ameer they paid ten lakhs out of the thirty promised, and intreated that the army should leave the country, taking a promise for the remainder. The Ameer thought it prudent to comply, and accordingly, levying contributions in his way, he marched by Beesulpoor, Sar, (1) and Meertha, towards Kishengurh. There having levied tribute also, he moved to Deodhee Goree (2) in Jypoor. Here he re-appointed Meean Moonuwur Khan to be Amil of Seronj, in lieu of Mohummud Saeed Khan and Suroor Khan, and sending

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(1) بيسلپور سار (2) ديودهي‌كودي

(2) Query—Doondee and Gaowree of Colonel Tod's Map near Rajmuhul on the Bunas.

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for his son and family from Nanwa, he went with them by the route of Kota to Sheergurh. Here Lala Golab Raee, Data Ram's son, who, since Moonshee Bhoanee Purshad's departure, had been appointed to the Moonshee's office, obtained leave to return to his native country, and the Compiler of this Narrative, who had been employed hitherto under Raee Data Ram at Jypoor, was, at the suggestion of the Raee, sent for, and appointed Naeeb Moonshee. These events occurred in the Hejira year 1230. (1)

(1) A. D. 1814, 13th December to 1815 3d December—Ameer Khan left Joudhpoor on this occasion in December 1815. This date will therefore be correct.

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BOOK THE NINTH.

CHAPTER IV.

1816.

The Afghans again mutiny and ill-treat the Ameer—He escapes by stratagem—Proceeds to the Shekhawatee country against Sham Singh and Ubhye Singh, who had defeated Jumsheed Khan — They retire to a position in hills—The Ameer settles for a composition of three lakhs of rupees with them—Proceeds with his brigades against Jypoor—Besieges it for one month, and then retires, in order to confer an obligation on Raja Jugut Singh's Ranee, Man Singh's daughter—Proceeds next against Joudhpoor.

THE men of the Ameer's army were at this period again unruly for their arrears, and getting the Ameer into their power, treated him with great severity, depriving him of his Suwaree, and not suffering him to stir. It happened, that Sham Singh (1) and Ubhye Singh, (2) of the Shekhawatee country, were getting the better of Nuwab

(1) سیام سنگھ (2) ابھي سنگھ

(2) Sham Singh, of Jhoojhnoo and Bussao, is the most powerful Chief of the Shekhawuts, and a very influential noble of the party of Jhota Ram at the Court of Jypoor. He has, for thirty years, been the Chief of that lordship, and, as such, visited the Honorable Mr. Elphinstone,

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Jumsheed Khan, and the Ameer, perceiving that matters there required his presence in person, for the succour of that officer, felt it to be necessary to escape somehow or other out of the hands of the mutineers, and he hit upon the following expedient for the purpose. He persuaded Ruhman Khan, Fyzoollah Khan's Chela, to get some artillery fired, next day, in the direction where the camp bullocks were grazing, and then to send some hurkarus to report in camp, that the Ranghra(1) horse were carrying off the gun bullocks. Having arranged matters thus in secret, the Chela did as was agreed, and while the men of the camp were speculating, what could have occasioned the firing, the hurkaras came in from the pasture ground to say, that some Ranghra horse had carried off the gun bullocks. The Ameer pretending to be very angry at hearing this, got up and mounting a horse, which happened to be near ready-saddled, rode off, as if to pursue the Ranghras, and recover the bullocks, and thus he reached a party of his Paeegah horse, which were under arms in expectation, and with them rode off to Kurun-Meerdeh,(2) which belonged to Buhadur Singh

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when he crossed the desert of Bikaneer on his way to Kabool. He then had a cousin Runjeet Singh, who was entitled to share the lordship with him, but on the 21st December, 1808, very soon after Mr. E. had passed, he succeeded in assassinating him. The cause of Runjeet's son, Sheojee, who escaped, was espoused by several surrounding Chiefs, and after a feud of some years, a Jageer of thirty-seven and a half villages was divided off for him. Ubhye Singh was Raja of Khetree, and an ally of Lord Lake's. He obtained the Kotpootlee Pergunn in reward for the good conduct of his troops in the affair in which Captain Lucan was killed. He and his son Bukhtawur Singh are both dead, and the Raja is now an infant son of the latter. The family are Shekhawuts, and tributary to Jypoor for all their territory, excepting Kotpootlee.

(1) رانگهرہ

(1) This word is used to designate the lower classes of the population through the whole tract, bordering on the Western Desert of India. They are all thieves and robbers, and mostly Moosulmans.

(2) کرن میرد یہہ

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Chundawut, and encamped there. Next day he sent for his troops, and assigned them ground about one or two kos distant from his own tents: with a light party also of his own horse, he captured Poorun Singh and Hunwunt Singh, two of Buhadur Singh's nephews, who had ventured to interfere with the Ameer's pasture, and took their horses away. In like manner, in the course of the following march, he overpowered a party of horse from Danta Ramgurh, (1) who, thinking they had to do with the foragers of the camp, ventured to attack him. Their horses he took away, and distributed amongst his followers, but released the prisoners. Encamping near that place, he continued his march by Baee (2) to Machna-was, (3) where he encamped. The Nuwab Jumsheed Khan, seeing no prospect of success in his operations against the Shekhawuts, came to this place with a small escort, to solicit in person a reinforcement, whereupon the Ameer, starting at two or three o'clock in the morning, made a march of thirty kos to the village of Kootree, (4) a dependency of Khutoo, (5) near which, that is about three or four kos off, the Shekhawuts were in camp, reinforced with several battalions from Jypoor. He arrived at his ground with no more than four or five hundred men; still such was the dread of his name and reputation, that the Shekhawuts, giving up their hope of being able to cope with Jumsheed Khan's brigade, now it was led by the Ameer in person, retired precipitately with their troops to the ghat of Mowasur, (6) a strong hill about three kos distant. The Ameer hearing of this movement, said his morning prayers, and then marched with his cavalry,

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(1) دانتا رام گڈھ (2) بائي (3) ماچناواس

(4) کوٹري (5) کھٹو (6) مواسر

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lightly equipped, to form the investment of the position. By cutting off their supplies and communications, he brought the enemy to great straights, but there was great want of water and grain round the position, indeed, for three kos all round, there was absolutely no forage nor provender of any kind: the Ameer therefore arranged, that half his men should be employed at a time in seeking sustenance for themselves and their horses, and on their being provided, that they should relieve those on the blockade duty, so that this latter service should never be intermitted. Thus the enemy were watched so closely, that they could not scratch their heads. After seven or eight days spent in this manner, the Shekhawuts were reduced to such straights, that they applied, through Nuwab Jumsheed Khan, to be admitted to a composition, and at first an agreement was made for eleven lakhs of rupees; but in the course of the night they contrived that Gunesh Nurayun, (1) and some other men of known substance, should get off through the passes in the hills; and then they represented humbly their inability to pay so heavy a mulct. They agreed, however, at last for three lakhs, and gave responsible persons for hostages into the Ameer's hands. At Nuwab Jumsheed Khan's intercession, the Ameer gave them these terms, and broke up his blockade, rejoining the main body of his army. The Ameer then apprehending violence from the mutineers, from whose hands he had escaped by stratagem, as mentioned, in case of his remaining with the army, left the camp secretly by night, and joined a party of horse, he had caused to be kept in readiness at a little distance for this purpose, under Juwahur Singh (2) and Ruhman Khan, and with them

(1) گنیش نراین (2) جواهرسنگه

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he went, by successive marches, to the brigade of Raja Buhadur Lal Singh at Ajeetgurh, belonging to Sursurath, (1) a dependency of Jypoor. To this place he laid siege, and made regular approaches, and so extorted a tribute. Having exerted himself to gain the good will of the men of his own particular corps, he now attached them to this brigade, and then, with the united force, marched by the route of Ruhunkush, (2) &c. to Sunthra, where he encamped.

In the midst of these operations, one Hunwunt Singh, (3) a Chela of Raja Jugut Singh, collected some troops, and came to Bheesa, (4) a dependency of Hindoun, with the design of attacking Colonel Mehtab Khan, who was cantoned there with his brigade. The Colonel sending his reserve and baggage into Hindoun, prepared his force for light service, having with him Ulahee Bukhsh, a Chela of the Ameer's, and Man Singh, Jemadar of Hurkarus. Hunwunt Singh thinking from these preparations that the Colonel was preparing to retire in alarm, became puffed up with vain pride, and attacked him; but like a moth he flew into the flame to his own destruction, for the brigade standing firm at all points, and preparing their artillery with drag-ropes, received the attack with repeated discharges, which produced a great slaughter amongst the enemy; and when the assailants had been so checked, the Colonel, who was a man of courage and skill, charged them along with Ulahee Bukhsh Khan, Man Singh, and other officers, and by their bravery and exertions the whole force of the enemy was effectually routed and dispersed, and Hunwunt Singh himself wounded.

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(1) سرسراتهه (2) رهنکس وسنتهره (3) هنونت سنگه (4) بهیسا

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The fugitives were pursued for four or five kos from the field of battle. Thus the Ameer's troops raised the standard of victory, and made a capture of all the stores and camp equipage of the Jypoor army, with two guns. The Ameer was in great exultation at hearing of this victory, and fired a salute for it.

Raee Chhutur Bhoj, (1) an Ex-Dewan of Jypoor, was at this time in the Ameer's camp, and urging him to engage in an intrigue for the removal of the Puroheet (Priest,) Manjee Das, who had supplanted him, and to bring about his own restoration to office. Several principal officers of the court were dissatisfied with the priest, and ready to join in any plot for his expulsion, and for the restoration of Raee Chhutur Bhoj. In this faction were Rao-Raja Luchhmun Singh (2) of Seekur, Kishen Singh, and Rawul Byreesal of Choumooha and Samodh, (3) Buhadur Singh (4) of Jhulaee, and some others, who all applied to the Ameer to forward their schemes. Instigated mainly by them, the Ameer determined to move his army against Jypoor. Calling in

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(1) راي چهتربهوج

(1) In the beginning of November, 1815, Lal Singh and Chhutur Bhoj triumphed over Sheeonurayun and Mohun Lal, and raised themselves to the head of affairs in Jypoor. It was said at the time that Ameer Khan's operations against the Shekhawut, and other Jypoor Chiefs, were invited and instigated by these ministers. Their authority, however, was short-lived, for in the beginning of January, 1816, the Resident at Dehlee reported that Chhutur Bhoj had been expelled, and had fled to the camp of Ameer Khan. Manjee Das being raised to the ministry in his place by the influence, chiefly, of Rao Chand Singh.

(2) راوراجه لچهمن سنگه سيكرواله

(3) كشن سنگه وراول بيريسال جوموهه وسامود ه واله

(4) بهادرسنگه جلايه واله

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therefore all his brigades and detachments, including the force under Nuwab Jumsheed Khan, he approached the city by the route of Bindur, Naolee, Bhagrota, (1) &c. marching leisurely with occasional halts, and levying contributions as he went along. In this manner, the Ameer came to Jhulaee and Jugutpoora, (2) only three kos from Jypoor, and encamped there. Manjee Das seeing this, got together the Jypoor army, and brought it to a position under protection of the fort of Motee-Doongree, (3) which is a kos and a half from Jypoor, and put the gates and fortifications of the city in a condition for defence. After remaining in position two or three days, thinking himself unable to meet the Ameer in the field, he suddenly broke up his camp, and returned with all his troops to within the town, and setting all the forts about it in a state of defence, addressed circulars to all the Thakoors, and dependents of Jypoor, to collect for the defence of the capital. In the little garden of Nuseean, (4) to the right, he posted the Nagas, and in the Majee's Garden to the left, the Jypoor special troops. Thakoor Chand Singh's troops were in the Bhut Garden (5) in front of the Ameer's line of approach. Having made these dispositions, Manjee Das shut the city gates, and raised field works outside for the defence of the ground taken up. The Ameer came up in the morning, with the brigade of Raja Buhadur Lal Singh, and the horse of his special corps; and with drag ropes to his guns, availing himself of the low ground of a nulla, he forthwith attacked Chand Singh's position at the Bhut Garden, and after a hot fire of artillery carried it by

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(1) ازراہ بندرونا ولي بہاکروتہ وغیرہ (2) جگت پورہ

(3) موتي ڈونگري (4) باغچہ نسیان (5) باغ بھٹ

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storm, with great slaughter to the enemy. From this point he began making his approaches. Chand Singh, with his defeated troops, took refuge under the city wall. Colonel Mehtab Khan was directed, simultaneously with the above operation, to proceed against the Nagas at Nuseean Bagh, and he met with equal success, dislodging them from their works, and occupying the post himself. The Nagas, however, having taken up a new position in a little Garden between their old ground and the city, the Ameer directed them to be dislodged from that point also, which was effected with much intrepidity by the Colonel, and with considerable slaughter of the enemy. Here also approaches were commenced against the city, but as the ground was much exposed, and within reach of the guns of Motee Doongree, which took the post in flank, the Colonel after losing many men from this fire sent to the Ameer for succour. The Ameer went, accordingly, with his cavalry, with all haste to the Colonel's position from the Bhut's Garden, where his own head quarters were established, and going towards the fort of Motee Doongree, sent a hurkaru to tell the garrison that, if they fired another shot, a storm of the place would be ordered, and they must take the consequences. Alarmed at this threat, they ceased firing from Motee Doongree, and the Ameer having restored confidence to Colonel Mehtab Khan, returned and threw forward the brigade of Raja Buhadur Lal Singh to a position in front of the Bhut's Garden, between the Puthurooee (1) and Motee Doongree forts, where it was within range of the fire from both these points, as well as of that from the city, but was protected by the ditches

(1) پتھروي

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and mounds of some gardens: there he commenced his main approaches for the reduction of Jypoor. Nuwab Jumsheed Khan, and the Ameer's father-in-law had been directed against the Majee's Garden, and had opened trenches there, but while they were employed on them, the enemy made a sally from the garden, and with such effect as very nearly to defeat this division of the Ameer's army. The Ameer, however, offering a prayer to the Deity, in whose hands are victory and defeat, arrived with a reinforcement, and leading a charge on the enemy in person, drove him from the field with great slaughter, after which, the approaches in that direction were carried on without further interruption. The Ameer now called in Meean Akbur Mohummud Khan, with the detachment employed under his orders, in making collections in Doongur Mularna, (1) and thus for twenty-four days continued the siege of Jypoor. In this interval, Manjee Das Puroheet, having assembled the forces of all the Jypoor Thakoors, resisted obstinately any demand for tribute, or for a money composition. Every day, the foraging parties of the Ameer's army were attacked, and he was much annoyed by the warfare thus carried on. At last being much vexed at these annoyances, he ordered a general bombardment of the city from all his batteries, in order, that the pride of the enemy might be abated by showing them the extent to which the means of mischief were in his hands.

VERSES.

There is cause for vexation, our Chief foams with rage,
A storm's on the brow of th' Ameer of the age;
To the trenches and batteries galloping down,
He orders a salvo from all, on the Town;

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(1) دونگرملارنه

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The Cannoniers ready his word to obey,
Open fire with a vengeance—'tis like the last day.
So served were the cannon, so many, so large,
Hell seemed broken loose, as they gave each discharge:
Earth shook to its centre—the welkin rung loud,
'Twas as if the last trump roused the dead in their shroud;
The townsmen awe-stricken, in trembling and dread,
Ran sculking to corners where each hid his head;
The shot struck the Palace, the Mansion (1) of air,
And Jugut Singh woke to a sense of despair;
His Dewan he sent with contrition to sue,
The Besiegers would not the bombardment renew.
The Dewan with art and with flattering speech,
Thus addressed the Ameer he was sent to o'er reach—
"Is it fit 'gainst the helpless that such boiling rage
The bosom should fill of th' Ameer of the age,
Like Roostum in courage, be like him a friend
Of the humbled: would you bring this Raj to an end?
You, that with Jugut Singh have such kindness exchanged,
Why now seek his ruin, why now thus estranged?
Man Singh owes to you the whole debt of his State,
Confer on Jypoor obligations as great."
Th' Ameer thus replied, "To your Raja I bear
No malice in heart, nor for aught do I care
But money, hard money, the clamours to stay
Of these hungry soldiers all greedy for pay—
'Tis the sine quâ non of my quitting this Town,
I dare not depart without money paid down."
To the Raja the Dewan reports this reply,
The Exchequer is empty, the Nobles are shy,
From them there is no hope of aid, in their pride,
Submission and payment they spurn and deride;
"Let him bombard the Town, storm it too, if he durst,
Why buy his forbearance, let him do his worst:"—
The Ranee, a woman of prudence and sense,
Now exerted herself in her husband's defence,

(1) Huwa Muhul, a building of seven-stories, or rather clusters of little rooms or recesses, fitted with marble perforated screens for the air to blow through in the hot weather and rains.

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To the Ameer she wrote. "Of Man Singh you 're the friend,
His brother I deem you, my honor defend,
Be uncle, be father to me, in this need,
Forbear from this outrage which makes my heart bleed."
Th' Ameer's heart was wrung by the Ranee's appeal,
The cannon no longer resound peel on peel—
Th' Ameer has relented and gone to his tent,
The battery's silenced—the Ranee content.

The facts were simply as follows—the bombardment was very destructive to the Townspeople, and the shot from the heavy guns, fired in volley, reached even to the Palace, and struck the Huwa Muhul (Air Palace) and other places of the Raja's own residence. Jugut Singh was in despair and lost heart immediately, and sent Luchhmun Chund, his Dewan, (1) to negociate and stop the bombardment. The Dewan supplicated the Ameer with all humility to suspend operations against the city. The Ameer said that his army would never be induced to march from before it without money, but if the Dewan could satisfy them in that respect, it was all that was desired, for he had no enmity against the Raja, nor other cause of quarrel with him. The Dewan returned to Jypoor, and reported what had passed, but as the Raja's treasury was empty, and his country all ruined, he had no means of satisfying the demand made. In the height of his alarm, he was preparing to evacuate the town and his palace, and to retire to the fort of Amèr, (2) to the North, when his Ranee, the daughter of Raja Man Singh of Joudhpoor, who was a woman of sense and spirit, re-assured the Raja, and sent a message on her own part to the Ameer, saying, "Raja Man Singh is my

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(1) لچھمن چند دیوان (2) امیر

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father, and your sworn friend. I look upon you, therefore, as my uncle, nay as my father, do not bring me to shame." The Ameer, on receiving this humble message, allowed his rage to abate, and stopping the bombardment returned to his quarters. Here he received letters from Juswunt Rao Holkur's widow, begging him to spare the Jypoor State, for it was an old one, of the first rank in Hindoostan, and ought not to be destroyed or debased. These supplications of the Baee were several times repeated, and the Ameer, reflecting that of a truth, if he were to storm the town with his Afghans, its sack would be a great calamity, and nothing would come to his own treasury, broke up the siege, (1) and moved by Sanganeer to Danga, (2) where he encamped. Thence he continued his march to Hunooman Khera, (3) near Madhoorajpoor, where he cantoned for the rains. In order to satisfy his men, who were on the point of mutiny for their arrears, he raised twenty-five thousand rupees from Muhmood Khan, as an advance upon the revenues of Tonk, and forty thousand from Fyzoolla Khan Bungush, as a like advance upon Sambhur and Nanwa, (4) and made over these places to them respectively. These events bring down the Narrative to the Hejira year 1231. (5).

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(1) The Ameer broke up from before Jypoor in July, 1816. The Durbar had been in negociation with the Resident at Dehlee, for the Raja's being taken under British protection since May, the negociators having proceeded to Dehlee just as the Ameer approached to attack the city. Upon terms being concluded with the Ameer, the Dehlee negociation was broken off, and Sunkur Das, Manjee Das's brother, the principal envoy, was dismissed in the beginning of August.

(2) دانگا (3) هنومان کهیرہ

(4) نانوہ

(5) A. D. 1815, 3d December to 20th November, 1816.

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BOOK THE NINTH.

CHAPTER V.

1816—1817.

The Ameer proceeds into the Joudhpoor territory—Disposes his Army to collect the revenues of Jypoor—Returns thither after settling affairs in Joudhpoor—Lays siege to Madhoorajpoor whither Bharuth Singh had carried the family of Mohummud Ayaz Khan—captured by him at Todurlee—Collects all his troops to reduce the place, and is nine months employed on the siege.

After the death of Singee Induraj and As-Deonath, Raja Man Singh's son and heir, Koonwur Chhutur Singh, acquiring the chief authority in Joudhpoor, put to death the Singee's brother Goolraj, (1) and raised to the head of the ministry Ukhye Chund, (2) and others of the Nobles and Thakoors of the faction, which had instigated the assassination of the Singee, and which was pledged to pay thirty lakhs of rupees to the Ameer. These men, however, on different pretences, evaded payment of the sum

(1) كلراج (2) اكهى چند

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due. They also sent for Singee Futehraj, (1) son of Singee Induraj, and gave him the nominal ministry, in the hope of getting from him some of his father's treasure. The Ameer seeing all this, made the following dispositions. He sent Colonel Mehtab Khan, whom he honored with the title of Roshun-ood-Doula, to be cantoned with his brigade about Hindoun and Mohummud Gurh, and to manage that neighbourhood. Raja Buhadur Lal Singh was posted in the neighbourhood of Chundlaee, (2) Lal-Sonth, Lye, (3) Luwaeen, Andhee, Bhoolaee, (4) &c. Nuseer-ood-Doula Nuwab Jumsheed Khan was cantoned at Chaksoo (5) and Sheeodaspoora, (6) &c. with his special troops, and Mean Akbur Mohummud Khan's brigade. The Ameer moved in person towards Joudhpoor, marching leisurely by Neemhura, (7) Chooroo, (8) Hurha, (9) Tejoon, (10) and Okraj-Deoraj, (11) dependencies of Jypoor, on which he levied tribute as he passed, and thus came into the Kishengurh territory. Thence by Maroot and Dundwana, (12) he came to Chaeel, (13) a village in Bapoo Sindheea's Jageer, in the Joudhpoor territory, where he encamped. The Ameer levied a contribution on this place—at hearing of which, Bapoo Sindheea, who was about Nagor, making collections, went to Moondwa, (14) and Koocheera, (15) villages

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(1) سنگي فتحراج (2) چندلائی (3) لي
(4) اندهي بهولاي (5) چاکسو (6) شيوداس پوره
(7) نيمهره (8) چورو (9) هرهه
(10) تيجون (11) اوکراج ديوراج
(12) ماروت ڈنڈوانه (13) چايل
(14) موندوه (15) کوچيره

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of the Ameer's father-in-law's Jageer in the Nagor country, and levied contributions there in retaliation. As the Ameer and Bapoo Sindheea were always on good terms, and there was a connexion between them by marriage, the Ameer's son Vuzeer ood-Doula being affianced to a daughter of Bapoo Sindheea's, the Ameer did not choose to quarrel on this ground, but left the Jageer, and marching by Kochawun, (1) Thakoor Sheeonath Singh's Jageer, and by Malodh, (2) a village in the Jageer of Ibraheem Khan, an officer of Man Singh, and then by Mukree, (3) Chundol, (4) and other places belonging to the Joudhpoor Raja, he came to Raee-sen, (5) which belonged to Roop Singh, a Joudhpoor Chief. The Ameer levied contributions at all these places, and besieged the fort of Raee-sen, extorting from the Chief an engagement for tribute. From this point, he sent on Raee Data Ram to Koonwur Chhutur Singh at Joudhpoor to negociate for the liquidation of his claims, and in the interim, proceeding by forced marches to Surmanee, (6) a dependency of Joudhpoor, he laid siege to it, in order to punish its owner for turbulence shown in his conduct to Mohummud Ayaz Khan. Having opened trenches, he carried the place after a short resistance, and found there much booty. From thence he made a few marches in advance, in the direction of Madol, (7) a dependency of Khalee Rao, under Joudhpoor, and met there Bapoo Sindheea, whose army was encamped only two or three kos from that of the Ameer. The Bapoo sent a Vukeel to negociate for the Ameer's evacuation of the Joudhpoor country. The Ameer out of his old regard for this officer,

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(1) كوچاون (2) مالوده (3) مكرى (4) چندول
(5) رايسين (6) سرماني (7) مادول

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received the proposition favorably, and entered into terms with him. Accordingly he marched leisurely to Madol in Joudhpoor, where he received letters from Raee Data Ram, announcing, that upon the condition of evacuating the country, the money matter might be settled favorably. Deeming it expedient therefore to return, the Ameer marched to Pye, (1) where he was met by the Raee, who informed him, that one lakh and fifty thousand rupees had been agreed to be paid, if he would leave Marwar. The Ameer confirmed this settlement, and sent back the Raee, with his own father-in-law, Mohummud Ayaz Khan, to realize the money from Futehraj, the Joudhpoor minister. He then marched to Hurmara, in Kishengurh, and levied twenty thousand rupees from the Raja of that territory.

In the midst of this, Mohummud Saeed Khan, Kootub-ood-Deen Khan, and other Afreedee Rusaladars, showed a disposition to mutiny for their arrears, and encamped at the distance of a kos from the rest of the Ameer's army. In consequence of the terms they were on with the Rampoor Afghans, they could not proceed to violence against the Ameer's person, but they contrived by employing Mohummud Saeed Khan, as if to negociate, to inveigle the Ameer into their power: that Afghan persuaded him by professions of attachment and fidelity, to go with him to give the Afreedees some assurances, which he said would satisfy them. He was thus seized and subjected to severe restraint, his private servants being admitted with great difficulty to attend him. The Ameer was, by this treatment, compelled to give the security of

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Meean Akbur Mohummud Khan to the Afreedees, for five lakhs of rupees, and so settled their claims, and procured his release.

The Zumeendar of Ludana, Thakoor Bharuth Singh (1) by name, a dependent of Jypoor, having got possession of the fort of Madhoorajpoor, which had been assigned in Jageer to Raja Jugut Singh's Rathor Ranee, had the audacity to carry away the family of Mohummud Ayaz Khan, the Ameer's father-in-law, from the fort of Todurnee (2) in Jypoor, where he had deposited them in reliance on the friendship of the Thakoor, to whom the place belonged. Bharuth Singh having some how got them into his power, carried both wives and children to Madhoorajpoor, and would listen to no terms of accommodation for their release. The Ameer was induced by this to determine on the attack of Madhoorajpoor, and moving by the route of Chooroo-Bhagee to Bharma, (3) he commenced a negociation, in the first instance, for their release. Such, however, was the insolence and pride of this man, and such the cunning and turbulence of his character, that keeping the Ameer amused with professions, until the corn was ripe, and he had laid in a store of provisions for a siege, he then retracted all his promises, and declared his determination to make no terms. The Ameer, therefore, marching by Ranoulee, (4) came to the fort, and encamped before it, and, sending for the brigades of Raja Buhadur Lal Singh, of Meean Akbur Mohummud Khan, of Muhmood Khan, and likewise for the cavalry attached to Mohummud Jumsheed Khan, and for the horse

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(1) تهاكر بهارتهه سنگه نامي زميد ارموضع لدانه

(2) تودرني (3) چوروبهاگي بهارما (4) رانولي

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at Perawa, under his Chela Himmut Khan, from their respective cantonments and garrisons, he invested the place on all sides. The supplies of the garrison were effectually cut off, and every day there were attacks or sallies, and close fighting, attended with slaughter, to the besieged, as well as to the besiegers.

After a long time spent in this manner, little advance was made towards the capture of the place; whereupon the Ameer called a council of all his officers, and asked their advice. They recommended, that the wall should be knocked down completely on one side, and when there was a wide breach, the place should be stormed on all sides, and not merely at the breach, in the hope, that entrance might be found somewhere, while the attention of the besieged was directed to that point. This plan being approved by the Ameer, his heavy guns were placed in battery. The wall was not sufficiently breached for the purpose intended, when a party of Afghans from Kabool, who did not understand Hindee, thought the time was come to storm, and went up from the trenches for the purpose. The rest of the troops ran to support them. The besieged seeing this, threw into the ditch choppers of thatch, half burnt, with other combustibles, and opened a tremendous fire on the men as they advanced, so that a great number of the Kaboolees were killed and wounded. The assailants discovering no breach that was practicable, in consequence of the wall not being sufficiently broken down, and of the fire from these straw choppers and other combustible materials, were obliged to return. At this time the Ameer, who was riding round as usual, to inspect the different lines of approach, and batteries, discovered the storm to be made without orders in the manner stated,

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and though he put the men of Kabool under arrest for the disobedience and breach of discipline of which they had been guilty, and reprimanded them severely, yet he felt that his plan was no longer practicable. The arrow that has once flown from the bow-string will not return.

The siege of Madhoorajpoor was become a source of great anxiety and trouble to the Ameer, for since his army had been collected round the fort, there was no revenue realized in the Jypoor territory, and the Joudhpoor officers quarrelling among one another, Futehraj, the son of Singee Induraj, had retired from the ministry, and the amount settled with him remained still unpaid. There was thus extreme distress in the camp for money. However, Raee Data Ram, Mohummud Umur Khan, and the Ameer's father-in-law, Mohummud Ayaz Khan, obtained, with great diplomatic skill, a lakh and a half of rupees from Koonwur Chhutur Singh, and brought it to the Ameer. They reported at the same time, that Raja Man Singh had formally abdicated, and that the Koonwur was raised to power, and had sent for Futehraj, the son, after slaying Goolraj, (1) the brother of Singee Induraj, merely with the design of over-reaching and extorting money from him. They likewise stated, that the scheme had been successful so far, that some money had been obtained from Futehraj, and that he had gone to Meertha to raise a further sum, but made off from thence, through an intrigue of the men of Holkur's train of artillery, headed by Dan Singh, commander of a Joudhpoor brigade.

(1) The death of Goolraj, brother of Singee Induraj, was reported from Dehlee in the beginning of May, 1817, by which time the fact of Raja Man Singh having been reduced to a cypher, and set aside as incompetent, was likewise known.

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The Ameer being made acquainted with all these affairs, divided the money he had recovered amongst his troops, and made preparations for another storm, for which purpose he ordered the artillery-men to direct the fire of the heavy guns, so as to destroy a large portion of the wall, and level it with the ground. The Ameer was himself intent upon the execution of this order, going to the breaching batteries frequently to witness the effect, and he ordered all the commanders of brigades, and other officers, to wait, until he should fire a rocket, which was to be the signal for a general storm. The men of the army were watching anxiously for this appointed signal, but by an unfortunate combination of accidents, when at last the rocket was sent off, instead of taking a direction over the fort, so as to give notice to the troops on the other side, as intended, the wind being adverse, brought it back over the camp, so that it was not seen there. The troops therefore on the side where it was let off, moved to the assault, and came boldly to the foot of the wall, in confidence that their comrades were supporting them on the opposite side, and were giving the besieged full employment there also; but in this they were disappointed, the signal not having been seen, so the storm again failed—the besieged resisting the assailants at the point attacked with such determination, as to prevent effectually any entrance into the fort. The loss on the Ameer's side was very heavy, and seeing no prospect of success by that mode of attack, he converted the siege into a blockade, and invested the place closely to reduce it by starvation. These events occurred in 1232. (1)

(1) A. D. 1816—21st November to 11th November, 1817.

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BOOK THE TENTH.

CONCLUSION.

PACIFICATION OF INDIA BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

CHAPTER I. (1)

General Donkin advances with an English army through the Jypoor territory—Followed by General Ochterlony with another—The Ameer signs a treaty with the English—measures to carry it into effect.

THE siege of Madhoorajpoor had now been going on for nine months, and the garrison began to suffer from the close blockade, so that the place was on the point of falling, when the English Government having collected its armies from all quarters, directed them against the countries, which had been hitherto the scene of the Ameer's exploits and enterprises. Connected with the same measures, a negociation was commenced at Dehlee with Nurunjun Lal, (2) who had for a long time been the Ameer's agent in attendance on Sir Charles T. Metcalfe,

(1) This Chapter commences with ten verses about roses in bloom, &c. which are designed to celebrate the conclusion of the Ameer's labours by the peace with the English.

(2) نرنجن لعل

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the Resident there, and many promises were made to him of territory in the Dukhun, (1) and of benefits innumerable to result from the Ameer's coming into terms. A negociation being thus commenced, the execution of these fair promises was held over, as to follow, eventually, after a treaty should be concluded, and a draft of engagement was prepared, and tendered for the Ameer's acceptance, which was conformable to the views of the English, but contained none of the objects the Ameer had at heart. This, however, was sent for his ratification, and at the same time, General Donkin marched from Agra with a large army, on the pretence of operating against the Pindaras: but, coming by the route of Hindoun and Khooshalgurh, within ten or fifteen kos of Madhoorajpoor, (2) he effectually blocked the road, by which the Ameer could have retired upon Kota towards the army of Juswunt Rao Holkur; while General Ochterlony, with another army, and a heavy train of artillery, advanced from Dehlee directly upon Jypoor, and required under a threat of military coercion, the ratification of the treaty at the Ameer's hands. At this time Fyzoollah Khan Bungush, one of the Ameer's old, and hitherto faithful officers and companions, went over to the English with his Rusala of horse. The Ameer began now to apprehend that his

(1) These Jageers in the Dukhun and other acquisitions, are mere *Chateaux en Espagne*, that the Ameer may have dreamed of, but certainly he had no promises, nor was any hope held out that he would get more than the engagements stipulated.

(2) General Donkin first marched to Dholpoor Baree, while Lord Hastings, with the Grand Army, moved to Seonda on the Sindh, to compel Sindheea to declare himself. The treaty with him having been concluded in the first week of November, 1817, General Donkin marched towards Boondee, in order to be prepared to meet the Pindaras, and prevent their flight northward, towards Ameer Khan and the Rajpoot States. On reaching this position, General Donkin was between Ameer Khan and the army of Holkur, and within reach of support from Lord Hastings, and the centre division. The Ameer was, therefore, as he says, effectually cut off, and submission was the only course left for him.

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troops would seize him and deliver him up to the English, for many used to talk, at this time, of the great benefits resulting from accommodation with that nation, instancing the case of Shooja ood-Doula, Vuzeer of Oudh, who had come in and thrown himself upon them without any terms or stipulations whatsoever—and what, it was asked, had not his family got secured to them in perpetuity in consequence? He further reflected, that there was no quarter from which he could hope for any effectual assistance, if inclined to oppose the British Government; for, in the army of Holkur, there was great confusion produced by the caprices and ill-conduct of Juswunt Rao's widow, Toolsee Baee, and if the Ameer were to go there, he had reason to know that this worthless woman intended to get rid of him by treachery. She had, indeed, invited him with this design, and had appointed armed men, who were to murder him as he slept. Again, General Malcolm was approaching the Holkur camp with a large army, and had already intrigued and brought over many of the officers, such as Mohummud Ghufoor Khan and others. The Marquess of Hastings also, Governor General, was in person taking the road to Gwalior, against the armies of Doulut Rao Sindheea, while General Adams and General Marshall, (1) with their forces, were moving from Hoshungabad and Sagur against the Ghoosla Raja of Nagpoor, in order to compel that Chief to submit—and General (2) Elphinstone, with

(1) General Marshall and Colonel Adams were first employed against the Pindarus. The former marched from Bundelkhund by Sagur upon Seronj, and the latter by Bhopal, by a route further west. It was after completing this service, that these divisions were employed against the possessions of the Nagpoor Raja.

(2) The Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, Resident at Poona, a Civil Servant on the Bengal Establishment, is the person here referred to. The natives, who understand little of the etiquette and distinctions of the two professions, give him very generally the credit of this battle, and look upon him as the Commander in Chief in the operations against Bajee Rao.

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one brigade, had already fought a battle, and defeated Bajee Rao Peshwa. Yielding, therefore, to all these considerations, the Ameer determined on ratifying the treaty, concluded by his agent at Dehlee with Sir Charles Metcalfe, although the matter of the further promises was still unsettled, and Nurunjun Lal was on return to Dehlee to negociate on the subject of them; and notwithstanding that agents from Bajee Rao, and from the Baee, widow of Juswunt Rao Holkur, were in his camp, praying for assistance, and the Pindaras too were expecting his support. The Ameer had, in reality, no reliance upon any of these, but patched up such an arrangement as he could with Bharuth Singh, of Madhoorajpoor, and obtaining from him the release of his father-in-law's family, he broke up the seige, and marching to Neemahera, about ten or fifteen kos distant, took up ground with great care on the bank of a nulla in the vicinity, which, with its ravines, offered a strong position.

The Ameer having made up his mind as to his future conduct, ordered Raee Data Ram, who was at Jypoor for the settlement of his affairs with the Raja, to proceed forthwith into General Ochterlony's camp. He joined it at Sanganeer, having Mohummud Umur Khan in company, and it was there settled, that the Ameer should have an interview with the General, at some suitable spot between the two armies, and that matters should be discussed without any third party's intervention. The village of Ruswan (1) was fixed upon for the interview. The General on one side, and the Ameer on the other, mounted on elephants, met with much pomp and state, showing

(1) رسوان

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to each other reciprocal attention. When the Ameer was about an arrow's flight from the General, the latter took off his hat out of respect, and then from the top of the elephant, he embraced the Ameer, (1) whereupon salutes were fired, and the two Chiefs dismounting, retired to tents pitched in the plain for the purpose—the General coming on foot to that of the Ameer, so that the interview gave the latter much satisfaction. Next day, the Ameer went to the General's tents, and the General came out on foot to receive him, and walked with him hand in hand into the tent, and spared none of the attentions, and tokens of friendship and respect, which were due to his rank, reputation, and character. The Ameer staid some time at this place, and was joined by Nurunjun Lal. The General asked the Ameer for the ratification to the engagement concluded at Dehlee. The Ameer said, he could not sign that instrument, until satisfied in respect to the further promises and hopes held out to him. He then, in presence of the General, sent for Nurunjun Lal, (2) and confronting him with the General,

(1) The Ameer met Sir D. Ochterlony by agreement, on the 15th December, 1817, at a place called by the latter Rhyswal, but the Ameer's name for the village Ruswan will be the correct. The Ameer claimed much more than was in the treaty, stating it to have been promised verbally by Sir C. Metcalfe to his Vukeel at Dehlee. Nurunjun Lal's letters were produced to support the claim, and himself afterwards called in. Sir D. Ochterlony replied, that he was there to receive the ratified treaty, not to discuss fresh terms. A Jageer for the Ameer's son, Vuzeer-ood-Doula, was a principal item of these demands. The Ameer separated without giving the ratified instrument, but next day, viz. on the 16th December, he brought it, and declared, he had made up his mind to observe it implicitly, and had not like the infidels (meaning the Mahrattas,) merely signed to answer a present purpose, with the intention of violating the conditions on the first favorable opportunity. Barring a little importunity for money, and for Jageers for himself and his family, he was certainly as good as his word.

(2) The treaty concluded by Lala Nurunjun Lal at Dehlee in November, 1817, and ratified afterwards by Ameer Khan on the 16th December, was to the following effect:

Article 1st. The British Government guarantees to Ameer Khan, and his heirs in perpetuity the possession of the places which he holds

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dispatched to Mr. Metcalfe a Khureeta, in which he proposed to settle these matters with Sir D. Ochterlony, thus holding the ratification in abeyance until an answer should arrive from Dehlee. Mr. Metcalfe, however, who was deep in the wiles of diplomacy, and was resolved still to keep these promises in the back ground, wrote to this effect, in the conclusion of his letter in reply—"When the treaty shall arrive with your seal in ratification, and the instrument thus duly executed, shall be transmitted to the head quarters of the Governor General, and peace thus be established between yourself and the British Government, you will then not fail to discover the advantages attendant on the connexion, and the prosperity that will result to your affairs. There will be no failure on the part of my Government to contribute thereto." After this the Ameer, relying on the known rectitude and fidelity to their word of British Officers, determined that peace was more advisable than hostility: accordingly he set his seal to the engagement, and sent it to the General, who had undertaken to settle all pending

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in the territories of Muharaj Holkur under grants from the Muharaj, and the British Government takes those territories under its protection.

2nd. Nuwab Ameer Khan will disband his army, with the exception of such portion as may be requisite for the internal management of his possessions.

3rd. Nuwab Ameer Khan will not commit aggressions in any country. He will relinquish his connexion with the Pindaras and other plunderers, and will, moreover, co-operate to the utmost in his power, with the British Government, for their chastisement and suppression. He will not enter into negociations with any person whatsoever, without the consent of the British Government.

4th. Nuwab Ameer Khan will deliver up to the British Government all his guns and Military equipments, with the exception of such a portion, as may be requisite for the internal management of his possessions, and the defence of his forts, and shall receive in exchange an equitable pecuniary compensation.

5th. The force which Ameer Khan may retain, shall attend at the requisition of the British Government.

6th. Provides for the exchange of ratifications within one month.

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matters, when once the ratified instrument should be delivered. The Ameer thus left it to Sir David Ochterlony to settle every thing according to his pleasure.

In the treaty it was stipulated, that the Ameer should dispose of half his guns, and reduce the battalions of his brigades, and his Rusalas of horse, retaining only as many troops as were requisite for the administration of his own territory; and aid of funds was promised to enable the Ameer to effect this, and to give the men their discharge. The General, accordingly, opened a negociation with the Ameer on the subject of these stipulations, and went with him to Lal-Sonth, and Khooshalgurh, and the other places in Jypoor, where were the brigades of Raja Buhadur Lal Singh, and Colonel Mehtab Khan, and of Meean Akbur Mohummud Khan, and then asked for the guns attached to each, which were to be delivered under the treaty. The men at first raised a tumult, and refused to surrender their guns, and two or three men sacrificed their lives before them; but in the end, after some explanations from the Ameer, they gave them up, and received from him, in settlement of their arrears, seven or eight lakhs of rupees paid by the General for the guns.(1) In the end the General, after taking possession of the guns, entertained a number of the men of the battalions and Rusalas, for service in Hureeana and elsewhere—the intention of the British Government being to scatter the men, and break up entirely the force raised, and organized by the Ameer. Afterwards the Ameer, relying on the hopes and promises held out to him

(1) The guns of Raja Buhadur's and of Mehtab Khan's brigades were obtained in the early part of March, 1818, but not until General Ochterlony had carried his army to a position between them, threatening to both, and that left them helpless.

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by the English gentlemen, transferred to the General the entire Rusalas of Mohummud Umur Khan, and of his father-in-law, Mohummud Ayaz Khan, and the horse attached to Raja Buhadur Lal Singh, with seven or eight battalions of trained Sipahees. At this time the Ameer's son, Vuzeer-ood-Doula, came from Sheergurh, and presented himself to his father at Neemahera, in Jypoor, who being delighted to see and embrace him, sent him to the General, who was encamped one stage off. Sir D. Ochterlony came out to receive him with all honor, and assigned him a tent close to his own, treating him with great distinction and kindness. The particulars of his march to Dehlee, and of his residence there, will be given in a subsequent Chapter.

The Nuwab Jumsheed Khan was, at the time of the Ameer's accommodation with the English, in the Shekhawatee country, with ten or twelve thousand horse and foot. Hearing of the Ameer's having accepted the terms proposed to him, he wrote reproachfully, and upbraidingly, and setting himself up in independence, refused to surrender his guns to the British Government. The Ameer wrote to him in all condescension to endeavour to persuade him to be reasonable, and to give up the guns as stipulated in the treaty, but in the pride and petulance of youthful presumption, he refused obstinately to obey. The General, seeing this, said to the Ameer—"This man makes excuses, and refuses apparently to give up his guns: give me your order to take them, it is all I ask." The Ameer said—"You are the master, do what you will." The General, accordingly, sent Colonels Knox and Arnold, with Colonel Skinner, and a considerable force, to compell the surrender of the guns, and then went himself alone to the camp of the Governor

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General, (1) which was in march towards Gorukpoor, to concert matters in person with the Marquess of Hastings. The Ameer sent Raee Data Ram, along with the General, to head quarters, to discuss his affairs, making him the bearer of a present of a sword to His Lordship, with other articles, as a peshkush.

As Jumsheed Khan still held out in his refusal to surrender his guns, and discharge his men, four battalions, with a regiment of cavalry, and other troops under Colonel Skinner, (2) went towards the Shekhawatee country against him, and Jumsheed Khan being defeated, their pride was taken down, and the whole of that force was dispersed, and its guns taken by force. In this interval, General Donkin, who had been encamped in the Boondee country, advanced into Kota, and moved against the Pindaras, while General Malcolm acted against the armies of Muharaj Mulhar Rao Holkar, son of Juswunt Rao, and the Honorable Mr. Elphinstone against Bajee Rao Peshwa, and General Marshall and General Adams against the Nagpoor Raja, each with his separate army or division, until being victorious in the field, they reduced every where the enemies of the British Government to submission. These events occurred in the Hejira year 1232. (3)

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(1) Sir D. Ochterlony came by Dawk to the camp of Lord Hastings, towards the end of March, 1818, for the purpose of being invested with the Order of Grand Cross of the Bath. He returned in the same manner early in April.

(2) Colonel Knox commanded this detachment—Colonel Skinner, with his corps, was under his orders. Upon the British troops advancing in line, the courage of the Afghans failed, and they dispersed and surrendered their guns.

(3) A. D. 1816, 21st November to 11th November, 1817. The events related extend to March 1818, that is, to the middle of the following Hejira year 1233.

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BOOK THE TENTH.

CHAPTER II.

1817—1818.

The battle of Mahedpoor between the British and the army of Holkur—The death of the Baee, widow of Juswunt Rao, by the hand of Huree Holkur, Juswunt Rao's nephew—Defeat of the Holkur army.

Toolsee Baee, Juswunt Rao Holkur's widow, falling in with the faction of Gunput Rao Dewan, caused poison to be administered to Meena Baee, (1) at Tej-Muhulpoor, and so put her to death. She also endeavoured to seize Tanteea Aleekur and others of the party of Meena Baee, but he escaping, went first to the tents of Nuwab Iftukhar-ood-Doula Mohummud Ghufoor Khan, and thence got to Raj-Rana Zalim Singh of Kota, who gave him protection. Seeing this, Toolsee Baee went into Gungrar, leaving Luchmun Baee, who had been confined by Meena Baee at Indor, and was party to Gunput Rao's conspiracy, at the head of affairs in camp.

The artillery corps (Jinsee,) broke at this time into mutiny for their arrears, and seizing the person of Gunput Rao,

(1) This was towards the close of the year 1816. She was first tortured with a view to extort her treasures, but revealed nothing.

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kept him in restraint in their camp, treating him with great severity. At seeing this, Toolsee Baee rending the veil of womanly discretion and shame, and scrupling not to show openly her affection for Gunput Rao, satisfied the artillery corps, by paying them up and discharging them, whereby she procured through Bala Ram Seth, the release of the Dewan from durance. The Seth and Dewan were, however, at open enmity, and the Dewan indeed was jealous of the ascendancy in the administration of affairs, acquired by Bala Ram Seth, through his superior abilities. By the agency of Tanteea Jog, the Seth was seized and confined in the fort, and there secretly put to death, (1) while reports were industriously spread, that he had made his escape. The Baee next plotted to get into her power, and similarly make away with the Nuwab Mohummud Ghufoor Khan, but the Nuwab hearing of the design, absented himself from the Durbar for a time, and further encamped at a distance of three kos from the Holkur army, for security against surprise. In the midst of these intrigues, the battalions of Juswunt Rao's old brigades, hearing of the payment in full made to the men of the artillery (Jinsee), came, under their respective commanders, Roshun Beg, and Roshun Khan, Bheem Singh, and Huzaree Poorbeea, to Gungrar, leaving the posts and cantonments, where they were severally stationed. Upon their arrival, they made tumultuous demands of their pay from Toolsee Baee and Gunput Rao. The Baee, however, intriguing with the Mahratta officers, such as Ramjee Sindheea, Bapoo Lolona, (2) and other

(1) This occurred in January, 1817. Bala Ram was attached to the Ameer's party, and his death gave great umbrage to all the Puthans, and to Ghufoor Khan, who was their head.

(2) رامجي سندیا و باپو لولونا

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Chiefs of the Paeegah, also with Meer Sudur-ood-Deen, Kazee Boolaqee, (1) Meer Murdan Ulee, and the Hindoostanee Rusaladars, who remained faithful to her, resorted to force to quell the disturbance; (2) and the men of the battalions, seeing that nothing was to be gained by tumult and mutiny, marched away with Ghufoor Khan, and setting themselves down about Puchpuha, (3) Jhalooa, (4) and other territories of the Holkur family, seized on the revenues, and conducted the administration for themselves. In the same manner, Meer Murdan Ulee, Sudur-ood-Deen, and other Chiefs of Hindoostanee horse, seeing how ill affairs were conducted by the Baee, left her, and acting under the advice of Nuwab Mohummud Ghufoor Khan, went and joined him and the other troops. But the Nuwab fearing for the discredit attending this course of proceeding, and deterred likewise by strong letters of remonstrance addressed to him by the Ameer, who enjoined submission to the Baee, as a primary obligation, contrived insidiously, and by cunning, to separate himself from the troops, and went off to Gagroon (5) to solicit the mediation of Raj-Rana Zalim Singh to bring about an accommodation between all parties. Zalim Singh, who was a man of discernment, indeed the Aristotle of his day for diplomacy, put himself in communication with all persons concerned, and advised that, forgetting their animosities, they should all rejoin the Holkur camp, and place themselves in submission to the authority of Toolsee Baee. The Ameer wrote strongly to

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(1) قاضي بولاقي

(2) The troops of the two factions turned out, and cannonaded one another towards the end of January, or first week in February, 1817.

(3) پيچ بها اسوسا (4) جهالوه (5) چاوني گاگرون

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Mohummud Ghufoor Khan, and to other officers with whom he had influence, to enjoin the same course.

The Baee was at this time at Jhalra Patun (1) with the Mahratta troops, preparing to march to Poona, upon a requisition for succour, made through Vukeels by Bajee Rao Peshwa. Here she was joined by all the troops, upon the accommodation mediated by the Raj Rana. The battalions, however, hearing of this design of the Baee, insisted on receiving their arrears of pay first. They refused to march to the Dukhun without, and raised a great tumult. The Baee exerted herself to appease the mutineers, and even sent jewels of value to all the principal officers of the battalions, in order to win them to her views. They, however, desiring to keep the jewels for themselves, and fearing to be called to account for the collections of the Muhals they had seized and appropriated, gave nothing to the troops from these funds, but commenced negociating privately with the English for the ruin of the Holkur family and fortunes. Nuwab Iftukhar-ood-Doula Mohummud Ghufoor Khan also opened a negociation with the English through Hukeem Zufur Ulee, unknown to and separately from the Ameer; and so got assured to himself, as an independent possession, the Muhals he was administering on behalf of the Ameer's eldest son, the Nuwab Vuzeer ood-Doula, whose Jageer they constituted. He even obtained Sunuds for the same, from Generals Sir Thomas Hislop and Sir John Malcolm, when these two officers came soon after into Malwa with an army, and with full power to settle the affairs of that country. The management of

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(1) جھالرا پاٹن

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the Jageer was in his hands, as agent for the Nuwab Vuzeer ood-Doula, but he represented himself as holding the lands for his own benefit, and so got them confirmed to him.

The English Generals, having settled first their private accommodation with these officers, wrote to the Baee, that the British Government was now determined to put an end to the system of plunder, and military violence, prosecuted by the Pindaras and others, and expected that she would lend the aid of the Holkur means to effect this object, and would give up the fort of Galna for a Military depôt, besides furnishing supplies, &c. for the march of troops through her country, pending operations against the Pindaras, or against the Governments of the Dukhun, which might make common cause with them. The Baee, on receiving letters to this effect, with the characteristic levity and caprice of a woman, not reflecting on the little confidence to be placed in her own troops, and taking little trouble to weigh her own strength in the scales against the English power, took the high ground of independence, and at the instigation of the Poorbeea troops, consisting of recruits from Hindoostan, who had the wind of conceit in their moostaches, and looked upon war with the English as a pastime and child's play, wrote an evasive answer to deceive the Generals: while she gave out that, if the troops even should desert her, she would yet go alone to Poona, and follow the fortunes of Bajee Rao Peshwa, her Liege Lord. Two or three days after this was so given out, the army marched to Muhedpoor, (1) in execution of the Baee's declared purpose.

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(1) مهد پور

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The English hurkarus gave information of the state of things in the Holkur army, to General Sir Thomas Hislop, and General Sir John Malcolm, who had then arrived at Oojein, not very far off; they, accordingly, marched to stop the Baee's progress to the south, and encamped at about four or five kos from the Holkur troops. In the midst of this, the men of that army, instigated by Huree Holkur,(1) a nephew of Juswunt Rao, seized the person of Toolsee Baee, and put her in a palkee, and took the young Mulhar Rao into their own hands. They also seized, and put under restraint Dewan Gunput Rao, who in vain mounted on horseback, and attempted to get out of the way with Tanteea Jog,(2) and having so mastered the whole party, they, in the end, took Toolsee Baee to the river side, and put her to death: Mulhar Rao Holkur they brought out into the Durbar, and conducted affairs themselves in his name.

Notwithstanding the vicinity of the English army however, these foolish men took not from their ears the cotton stuffing of neglect, and made no proper dispositions for battle, nor to meet the occasion in any other way, so true is it, that all is planned as destiny wills. In short, in the very midst of the above events, the English army, headed by a regiment of European cavalry, arrived at the bank of the river, (the Seepra) which runs by Muhedpoor, and there drew up for action. Seeing this, the men of the Holkur battalions, who were on the opposite side of the stream, made ready to oppose the passage, and mounting Muharaj Siwaee Mulhar Rao Holkur on horseback, drew out their cavalry also in separate bodies. The

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(1) هري هولكر (2) تانتيا جوگ

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Nuwab Mohummud Ghufoor Khan was laid up with a lame hand at the time, besides being in secret under engagements with the English, but for appearance-sake, he too mounted with the rest, but kept aloof as a stranger looking on. There was no Commander in Chief in the Holkur army, nor any one capable of taking the general direction of affairs in such a crisis, and of commanding in the battle, but each Sirdar considered only himself, and acted altogether without orders or concert, as was best for his own interest or safety: most of them kept out of the way after the first shot from the British guns; Bheem Singh Poorbeea, however, who commanded seven or eight battalions, with Ram Deen, Roshun Beg, and Roshun Khan, and other commandants, drew out their troops, and determined to make a stand. They met the advancing columns of the English with so heavy a fire of artillery, as to shake their steadiness, and very nearly to win the day. But as they received no support from the rest of the Holkur army, and as most of the horse were at a distance looking on, waiting only for the moment to run, the battalions could not follow up the effect of the artillery, by a charge at the favorable moment. In the mean time, the English army, which had the bed of the river for a protection, with the power of drinking from it to refresh themselves at pleasure, recovered their order and remained firm: and at last one or two battalions which had passed to the left, mounted the bank, (1) and

(1) The British army was formed on a sand, in the bed of the river, protected from the artillery by the overhanging bank. The Europeans were on the extreme right, and on ascending through the ravines charged home to the guns, the space being only about three hundred yards. The infantry broke, immediately the guns were reached, and there was a general flight of all the Mahratta army, but in the advance the British troops suffered very severely from the artillery. The battle was fought on the 21st December 1817, and sixty-three guns were taken.

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advancing, put the whole army of the Muharaj to route, and a great slaughter ensued. Hereupon Bheem Singh Huzaree, and the other Sirdars, who had exerted themselves with courage, and stood the brunt of the action, seeing their own cavalry fly from the field, and the English regiments surrounding them, retired also, and their troops fell into confusion, and four or five thousand men were cut to pieces. Poor Siwaee Mulhar Rao Holkur, a lad of tender years, who had never seen an action before, sought his safety by flight with a party of horse. Thus the English obtained a great victory, and captured all the guns of the brigades of Holkur's army.

Mulhar Rao fled to Purtabgurh,(1) which is two or three stages from the field of action. General Sir J. Malcolm, however, with the liberality of a great Chief, made an offer of accommodation, and restored Indor and other territories of Holkur in Malwa, yielding a revenue of ten or twelve lakhs of rupees, as a free gift to the young Raja, and a treaty was concluded on this basis:— whereupon the young Siwaee Mulhar Rao Holkur was brought to Indor, and kept there as it were in surveillance, (Nuzurbund). Kureem Khan Pindara, who fled in disguise from the field of action, and concealed himself, was brought to Oojein, and placed under restraint, until the opportunity offered, of sending him with his family and children into the Gorukpoor Zila, where a Jageer was assigned to him of sixty thousand rupees per annum for maintenance. General Donkin, who went into Kota with his army to meet the Pindaras, fell in with a body

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(1) پرتاب گڈھ

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of them and dispersed them, and Cheetoo, Rajun, and some others of the Sirdars, were afterwards taken, or surrendered themselves. These events occurred in the year of the Hejira 1233. (1)

A Chapter here follows, which professes to give shortly the history of Bajee Rao Peshwa's quarrel with the British Government, and of his defeats and final submission. It is extremely inaccurate, and written evidently from very imperfect hearsay evidence, besides which, the matters related, have no connexion whatsoever with the Ameer, or his concerns. It has, therefore, not been thought worth while to translate it. We shall proceed therefore to the last Chapter, which contains an account of the Nuwab Vuzeer-ood-Doula's visit to Dehlee, and of the issue of his negociation to procure further advantages for the Ameer.

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(1) A. D. 1817—12th November to 30th October 1818.

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BOOK THE TENTH.

CHAPTER THE LAST.

1818 to 1822.

The Ameer's Son proceeds to Dehlee—remains there for a year or more—is presented to the King—Returns home—having obtained a Jageer in lieu of the Perguna of Sumbhul, promised to the Ameer during the negociations—Rejoins his Father at Tonk—his marriage—arrangement to settle the Territory—Conclusion.

It was an article in the Treaty (1) concluded by the Ameer with the British Government, that his son, the Nuwab Vuzeer-ood-Doula Mohummud Vuzeer Khan, should reside for a time at Dehlee, where Sir C. T. Metcalfe was Resident;—this measure being looked upon as calculated to strengthen the bonds of friendship and to improve the good understanding it was desired to establish. The young Nuwab, therefore, with his brother-in-law,

(1) It will be seen from the copy of the treaty, given in a preceding note, that there was no article in it, providing for the Ameer's son residing at Dehlee, but it was an understanding that he should do so, and no difficulty was made about his going. He arrived at Dehlee in February, 1818.

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Meean Syud Ulee Shah, proceeded to Dehlee, with a few troopers, and a suitable retinue in other respects. Upon his approach to the royal city, the Ameer's Vukeel negociated with Sir C. T. Metcalfe about the manner of his reception, claiming for him honors commensurate with the respect with which his father had been treated by Sir David Ochterlony, to meet whom it was well known that the General had gone out a distance of five kos from his own camp. The Resident, however, pleading a press of business, excused himself from the Istuqbal, and sent his brother, Mr. T. Metcalfe, to do the honors in his place. This gentleman, accordingly, came out, and gave the complimentary meeting to the young Nuwab with all respect, and accompanied him to a house which had been prepared for his reception, whence he afterwards took him to the Residency, and presented him to Sir Charles Metcalfe. Here the Nuwab was treated with much distinction, and received presents suitable to his rank. On the following day, the Resident returned the visit, when the Nuwab made corresponding presents, and received many cordial assurances of regard.

There was a connexion subsisting between the Nuwab Vuzeer-ood-Doula and Meerza Suleem, son of the reigning King of Dehlee, on the strength of which, and of assurances from the palace, of a desire that he should be presented, the young Nuwab, with the sanction of the Resident, was introduced to the Prince, and was treated by him with much distinction, presents of arms of curious workmanship being made, and other marks of favor bestowed on him. The Prince, indeed, on the strength of the connexion before referred to, received the Nuwab amongst his intimate friends: besides which, so long as he remained at Dehlee, the Resident showed him always

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very marked and particular attention, as if desirous to reconcile him as far as possible to the separation from his home.

Raee Data Ram, who had been sent by the Ameer to wait upon the Governor General in Gorukpoor, returned about this time, and Sir C. Metcalfe being summoned to the presidency, Sir D. Ochterlony was appointed Resident at Dehlee, and vested with the Political Charge of the Rajpoot States, besides retaining his command of the armies in all those countries. He accordingly came to Dehlee, and the young Nuwab waited upon him. Soon afterwards, however, he proceeded to Ajmeer, with his lady, to visit the holy shrines and the other objects of note at that city. The Raee took the opportunity of proceeding to Jypoor in the suite of the General, and made a stay there for the purpose of settling some affairs. The Raee afterwards continued his journey to Tonk, and had an interview with the Ameer, whom he advised to move towards Ajmeer, for the purpose of meeting the General. Sir David having passed Jypoor, marched towards Kishengurh, and the two Suwarees met not far from that town, where the usual compliments were exchanged, and the Sirdars went on in company to Kishengurh, and encamped together. Next morning, they proceeded in company to Ajmeer, where they halted for some days, and visited together the holy shrines, and the other places worthy of examination at that city. When Sir David returned, the Ameer came back with him as far as Dodo Buchar, (1) and then with Raee Data Ram, took his leave and returned to Tonk, while the General went on to Jypoor, where he was detained some time.

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(1) دودوبچار

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The Ameer now sent Raee Data Ram to negociate for his son's return, and he remained in attendance on the General, discussing this and other matters, and finally returned with him to Dehlee, where the negociation was put in train. In the midst of it, Baqee Mohummud Khan, Mohummud Saeed Khan, and other Rusaladars, raised a disturbance at Tonk, reviving certain obsolete claims for old arrears of pay. They, moreover, followed the General to Jypoor, and importuned him with complaints. The Raee was useful in explaining this matter, and in procuring, that the complaints should not be listened to: But the Rusaladars not satisfied, returned to Tonk, and were there very troublesome: so much so, that in the Hejira year 1234, the Ameer determined to move away to Seronj, to settle the affairs of that territory. There he staid for some time, but returned to Tonk by forced marches, in the height of the following rains.

The Perguna of Sumbhul, (1) in Rohilkhund, had been promised in Jageer to the Ameer, at the time of concluding the treaty with him. The English Gentlemen, however, made excuses for not performing this promise, and Pulwul, near Dehlee, was afterwards thought of in substitution, but this too they determined to keep in their own management. Accordingly Raee Data Ram, being desirous to bring the negociation to a point, took a Sunud for a money payment of one lakh and a half

(1) The British Government never promised this Perguna, nor authorized any of its officers to hold out to the Ameer any hope of obtaining it in Jageer. Sir David Ochterlony, however, committed himself by a promise of his good offices to endeavour to procure something of the kind, and the Governor General acceded to the measure. It was in order to silence the Ameer's importunities, and to satisfy the hopes thus excited, that a money pension was at last conferred on the Ameer's son, at the same time that Rampoora and Oonarsee were transferred to the Ameer, and a debt of three lakhs, for money advanced to aid in settlements with his troops, was remitted.

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of rupees in favor of the Nuwab Vuzeer-ood-Doula, and then obtained for him permission to return to his father. He received his audience of leave from the General, and was presented with an elephant, a horse, and other honorary presents, and then took his departure from Dehlee, by the route of Rewaree and Jypoor, bringing with him Raee Data Ram, and Meean Seyud Ulee Shah. Raja Jugut Singh, of Jypoor, had died some time before, and a posthumous son, the present Raja Siwaee Jysingh, having been born to one of the Ranees, the young Nuwab paid his devoirs at that Court to the reigning Authority, and was honored with further presents; after which, proceeding on his journey, he arrived at Tonk, on the 9th of Zee Huj, (1) in the Hejira year 1234, and was restored to his father's embraces to his infinite delight. The Ameer then commenced regulating the civil affairs of his different possessions, and in 1234 Hejira, he made a journey to Seronj, for the purpose of putting that territory in order, but after a short stay, he returned to Tonk.

In 1237 Hejira, (2) being at the time with his son at Uleegurh, which is the new name given to the place heretofore known as Rampoora, the Ameer was informed, that Sir D. Ochterlony intended to pass through his territory, on his way to the cantonment of Neemuch. Thereupon, first dispatching his son to give the General the requisite complimentary meeting, he proceeded afterwards in person two kos on the road, and brought this honored visitor into Uleegurh, firing salutes, and treating

(1) A. D. 30th September, 1819. The year 1234 Hejira, commenced on the 31st October, 1818, and closed on the 19th October, 1819.

(2) A. D. 1821, 29th September to 17th September, 1822.

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him with every possible distinction. He entertained him for three or four days, after which the General proceeded on his journey. In Jumadee Oos-sanee of 1237 (1) Hejira, the Begum, widow of Bapoo Sindheea, deceased, sent to negociate for the completion of the marriage, which had been in agitation during that Chief's life time, between his daughter and the Nuwab Vuzeer-ood-Doula. Every thing being satisfactorily adjusted, arrangements were made for the celebration of the wedding, and it took place with suitable magnificence, and was attended by many Chiefs of rank, and great were the rejoicings and festivities, with which the ceremony was performed.

Since this period, the life of the Ameer has been passed in cultivating the arts of peace. His days are spent in the enjoyment of domestic happiness, and in the performance of all religious observances, such as listening to the reading and interpretation of the Koran, or joining in social and instructive discourse with the learned and pious, who have found in his Court an asylum and honored retreat. He is, at the same time, scrupulous in attending to the various duties of administration, in redressing wrongs and administering equal justice, and is constantly studying to promote the improvement and prosperity of his territories. Many are the buildings, the palaces, and places of worship, with which he has embellished the City of Tonk, and the other places, which he has made the seats of his occasional residence. Many are the gardens, and the Gunjes, and the Suraees, and the wells, which he has caused to be constructed, for the accommodation of the public, and for the convenience and comfort of his subjects, and of those who live under his protection and government. The

(1) 24th February to 24th March, 1822.

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description of all the works that have been executed, or put in hand under his orders, would require the pen of an accomplished writer, for like the virtues and amiable qualities which distinguish himself among the Chiefs and great men of his age, they surpass the feeble powers of his humble admirers.

This Chapter, and the Volume conclude with several copies of Verses by the Poet Shadan, laudatory of the buildings and works referred to, or fixing their date. Last of all are three Odes, in celebration of the virtues and achievements of the Ameer, and one, to crown the whole, addressed to the Ameer's son, the heir-apparent, Vuzeer-ood-Doula Nuwab Mohummud Vuzeer Khan. The laudatory style of Persian verse cannot be rendered into English, those who are curious in such things, must, therefore, be content to exercise their ingenuity upon the original Persian. Our task is done.

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INDEX.

A.

AFGHANS—their descent traced to Saul, king of the Jews, 2—conversion of the tribe to Mohummudanism, 4, 5—why called Puthans, 5—Ameer Khan, of the tribe—his genealogy traced, 6, 7—the Afghans in the Ameer's service mutiny, 115—punished, 118—further mutinies and acts of turbulence, 177, 289, 305, 314, 321, 345, 375, 402, 407, 442, 457—Afghans in Bapoo Sindheea's service spirited up to mutiny and won over, 349, 350.

AFRASIAB KHAN, Chela of Nujuf Khan—his rise to power, 76—assassinated, 77.

AFZULGURH—Ameer Khan defeated there by Genl. Smith, 257.

AHMED KHAN BUNGUSH, Nuwab of Furukhabad—his quarrel with the Lukhnou Nuwab, 60, 61.

AHMUTY, Major, British officer, opposed to the Ameer in Bundelkhund, 199—stated to have made offers to gain him over, 235.

AKBUR MOHUMMUD KHAN, an officer of the Ameer, 415, 420—raised to command of a brigade, 432—takes the farm of Nanwa, 433—called in to the siege of Jypoor, 450—cantoned about Chaksoo, 455—called in to the siege of Madhoorajpoor, 458—his brigade broken up and its guns delivered, 468.

AMBAJEE INGLIA, left by Mahajee Sindheea to administer Mewar, 86—employed by Doulut Rao against Lukhwa Dada, 130 to 132—intrigues with Ameer Khan, 236—receives his family and a brigade, 237—dismisses both on remonstrance from the British, 238—money extorted from him by Doulut Rao and Juswunt Rao, 270, 271—regains favor with Sindheea, 272—joins the Raja of Jypoor at the siege of Joudhpoor, 319—intrigues there against the Ameer, 320—thwarts his views with Bapoo Sindheea, 327—retires from Joudhpoor with Raja Jugut Singh, 341 to 343.

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AMEER KHAN, of the Afghan tribe, 1—his genealogy, 6, 7—birth 9—early propensities, 10, 12—first military adventures, 13, 19—serves Bhopal, Chap. III. 20 to 29—joins the Keechhee outlaws, 30 to 37—serves Bala Rao Inglia, 41—against Bhopal, 43, 44—Minister of Bhopal, 46 to 48—quits Bhopal, 49—unites with Juswunt Rao Holkur, 96—their first enterprises, 97 to 101—Muheshur taken, 101—proceedings there, 102 to 104—driven out by Chevalier Dudrenec, 108—Dudrenec surrenders to him, 110—proceeds against Sagur, 113—captures the town, 114—is defeated by a force from Nagpoor, 117—succoured by his half brother, 118—pillages Shujaelpoor, 120—insulted at Holkur's Durbar, 124—reconciliation, 125—his army defeated in his absence by Lukhwa Dada, 129—operations against that Chief, 130 to 132—Major Hessing and Bulwunt Rao Batkura defeated, 135 to 138—Holkur and Ameer Khan defeated at Indor, 142, 143—the Ameer's exertions to restore their affairs, 145, 146—Depredations in Mewar and Malwa, 147 to 150—movement on Kandes, 152—affairs with Sada Sheoo Rao, 157 to 159—march on Poona, 161—his part in the battle there, 168, 170, 173—concern in overtures to Bajee Rao, and proceedings after it, 174, 175—pursues Bajee Rao to Marh, 177—brings over his Sirdars, 180—expedition to Merich, 183—rejoins Juswunt Rao at Aurungabad, 185—overtures made to gain him, 188, 189—his advice to Holkur as to conduct towards Sindheea and the Ghoosla, 191—heads an incursion into Bundelkhund, 199—affairs about Tehree, 201, 202—advance to Koonch and Kalpee, 205, 208—retires again to Malwa, 210—captures Bhilsa, 234—marches for Bhurtpoor, 236—intrigue with Ambajee Inglia, 237—arrives at Bhurtpoor, 239—proceedings there, 240—attacks convoys, 243 to 246—undertakes an incursion into Rohilkhund, 249—reaches Moradabad, 253—is pursued, 254, 255—overtaken and defeated, 257—his flight from Rohilkhund, 261—and return to Bhurtpoor, 264—assists in extorting money from Ambajee Inglia, 270—marches with Holkur to Puteeala, 276—arrives at Lahor, 278—disapproves of Holkur's peace with the British, 281 to 284—mediates between Juswunt Rao and mutineers, 290—defeats a plot to poison him, 292, 293—employed to adjust terms with Jypoor, 300—marries there, 301—sides with Jypoor in the war against Joudhpoor, 304, 305—interview with Juswunt Rao, 309—joins the Jypoor army, 313—pursues Raja Man Singh, 315—slighted by Raja Jugut Singh, breaks with him, 319 to 324—intrigues with Bapoo Sindheea, 326—affairs with Jypoor troops, 329, 333—defeats Sheeolal Bukhshee at Madhoorajpoor, 337—marches to relieve Joudhpoor, 340—allows Raja Jugut Singh to escape, 343—proceeds to Joudhpoor, 344—circumvents Bapoo Sindheea, 349 and 350—Siwaee Singh assassinated, 352 to 359—leaves Joudhpoor, 361—settles the affairs of Holkur's camp on Juswunt Rao's falling insane, 366—expedition against Nagpoor, 368 to 385—reduces Dhurman Chela, usurper in Holkur's camp, 391 to 395—marches towards Oodeepoor, 396—interview and agreement with Muharana Bheem Singh, 399—advises the poisoning of

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his daughter, 400—arrangement with Joudhpoor, 401—and Jypoor, 405—receives Kureem Khan Pindara, 407—understanding with him, 409—sends succour to Gurakota, 411—proceeds to Joudhpoor, 412—advice to Raja Man Singh, 414—returns to retrieve affairs in Jypoor after Chand Singh's success, 416—establishes garrisons and cantonments there, 419—operations in the Shekhawatee country, 420, 421—settlement with Jypoor, 422—attends the meeting of Rajas Jugut Singh and Man Singh, 423, 424—receives overtures from Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk and from the Baloochee ruler, 425, 426—and from Sindh, 427—rejects them, concerns with Jypoor, 429—expedition into Bikaneer, 431—arrangements on decease of Mohummud Shah Khan, 433—proceeds to Joudhpoor and intrigues against Singee Induraj, 434, 435—assassinates him and Raja Man Singh's Gooroo, 437, 440—operations against Shekhawut Chiefs, 443, 445—advance to Jypoor, 448—siege and bombardment of the city, 449 to 452—raises the siege at the Rana's request, 453—ravages Joudhpoor, 456—lays seige to Madhoorajpoor, 459—fasts in two storms, 459, 461—treats with the British Government, 463—meets General Ochterlony, 465—ratifies his Vukeel's treaty, 466—measures to execute it 467 to 470—sends his son to Dehlee, 480—final settlement and employments at Tonk, 485, 486.

ARGAM, battle of 196.

ASDEONATH PUNDIT, Gooroo of Raja Man Singh of Joudhpoor, assassinated with Singee Induraj, 434 to 440.

ASSYE, battle of, 194.

B.

BAEE, of Juswunt Rao Holkur, *see Toolsee Baee.*

BAEES, of Mahajee Sindheea, oppose the accession of Doulut Rao, 87 (Note) separate from him and fly to Oojein, 126—circumvented and pillaged by Juswunt Rao Holkur, 127, 128.

BAJEE RAO, first of the name, succeeds his father as Peshwa, 54—invades Bundelkhund, 55, 56—obtains Oojein and Malwa, 57—approaches Dehlee, 58—his death, 58.

BAJEE RAO, son of Rughoonath Rao, his accession, 89, 90—rejects overtures from Juswunt Rao Holkur, 162, 174—flies to Mahr after the battle of Poona, 175—to Bombay, and signs the treaty of Bassein, 180—excites Mahrattas and others to rise against the English, 465, 474.

BALAJEE PUNDIT, first Peshwa, 52—his death, 54.

BALAJEE, called Nanha, succeeds his father Bajee Rao as Peshwa, 58—dies of grief for the disaster of Paneeput, 65.

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Bala Ram Seth, a minister of Juswunt Rao Holkur, employed in negociations with Lord Lake, 280, 282—promoted on Juswunt Rao's falling insane, 366—put to death by Toolsee Baee, 472.

Bala Rao Inglia, Ameer Khan's first adventure with him, 27—his proceedings against the Keechhee Rajpoots, 32 to 35—operations against Shujaelpoor, 40—and Bhopal 42, 43, 46—interferes to prevent the Ameer from plundering Jhansee, 119—employed against Juswunt Rao Holkur, 150, aids in the extortions from Ambajee his brother, 270.

Bapoo Sindheea, an officer and relation of Doulut Rao, distinguishes himself in the battle of Bhopal, 46—in the battle of Deeg with Hurnath Chela, 229—engaged with Ameer Khan in the attack of a convoy at Bhurtpoor, 242—sent with the Ameer having Inglia in charge to Kota, 271—employed with Bala Rao Inglia's troops as auxiliaries to Jypoor against Joudhpoor, 326—intrigue of Ameer Khan to gain him, thwarted, 327—breaks up from before Joudhpoor, 342—circumvented and sent out of Marwar by the Ameer, 349, 350, 351—marches to Jawudh, interview there with the Ameer, 388—retaliates on the Ameer for the plunder of one of his villages, 456—his daughter married to the Ameer's son, 485.

Baptiste, Jean, son of Michael Filoze, commands a brigade of Doulut Rao Sindheea's, 140—defeats a division of Holkur's troops under Nuwab Shuhamut Jung, 210—employed with Bapoo Sindheea against Joudhpoor, 350—induced by the Ameer to retire, 351.

Bassein, (Busye) treaty of, concluded by Bajee Rao, 180.

Benee Singh, commander of Nagpoor troops, sent to relieve Sagur, 115—defeats the Ameer, 116, 117.

Bharuth Singh, a Chief of Jypoor, holding Madhoorajpoor, defies the Ameer, 458—holds out on siege for nine months, 459 to 462—an arrangement patched up with him, 465.

Bheem Singh, Muha-Rana of Oodeepoor, 295—his daughter solicited by the Rajas of Joudhpoor and Jypoor, 296—quarrel with the former, 296, 297—Ameer Khan's interview with him, 398, 399—poisons his daughter, 400.

Bhooanee Sunkur Bukhshee, an officer of Juswunt Rao Holkur, aids his escape from Nagpoor, 93—at the battle of Poona, 167—employed against Colonel Monson, 219—deserts to the English, 268.

Bhopal, state of affairs there in 1794, 20—the Ameer entertained, 20—adventures there, 21 to 27—Mooreed Mohummud established in power, 27, 28, 29—intrigues there of Golee Khan and Vuzeer Mohummud, 42, 43—Bala Rao Inglia

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obtains the forts, 43—attacks the town, 46—the Ameer in power, 47, 48—resigns to Vuzeer Mohummud, 48—*See Vuzeer Mohummud.*

BHURTPOOR, affairs of, 61, 63—Bhao Bhaskur sent by Juswunt Rao Holkur to negociate with the Raja, 223—General Lake's arrival before it, 233—siege, 230 to 249, 264, 265—the Raja makes peace with the English, 267.

BROWNRIGG, Major, an officer of Sindheea, 139—mainly instrumental in gaining the battle of Indor, 142, 143.

BUHADUR LAL SINGH commands a brigade under Mohummud Shah Khan, 331—detached to Meertha, 347—made Raja, 361—detached to Oodeepoor, 396—disobeys a summons from the Ameer, 402—rejoins Mohummud Shah Khan, 402—left to blockade Lawa, 411—his troops mutiny, and march towards Bhurtpoor, 414—brought back, defeat Chand Singh, 416—stationed in Jypoor, 419—beats off Chand Singh, 420—employed at the siege of Jypoor, 448, 449, and Madhoorajpoor, 458—his guns given up and the brigade disbanded, 468.

BULWUNT RAO BATKURA, an officer of Doulut Rao Sindheea, 134—sent against Juswunt Rao Holkur, 135—defeated at Oojein, 137, 138.

C.

CHAND SINGH, a Thakoor or noble of Jypoor, 411—takes the field and gains advantages over Mohummud Shah Khan, 414, 415—his affair with Buhadur Lal Singh, 416—retires to Jypoor on the Ameer's arrival, 417—attacks Lal Singh again, 420—expelled from Jypoor by intrigue, 422—takes part in the defence of Jypoor, 448.

CHHUTUR SAL, Raja of Bundelkhund, invites Bajee Rao Peshwa, 54, 55—adopts him and divides his territory, assigning one fourth to Bajee Rao, 56—his sons quarrel after his death, 56.

CHHUTUR SAL, Raja of Duttea, gives refuge to Lukhwa Dada, 132—killed at the siege of Seonda, 132.

CHHUTUR SINGH, KOONWUR, i. e. heir apparent of Joudhpoor, urges Ameer Khan to effect the ruin of Singee Induraj, 434—administers affairs at Joudhpoor, 456, 460.

CHIMNA APA, brother of the first Bajee Rao Peshwa, acts in subordination to him, 54—dies childless having adopted Suda-Sheeo-Rao Bhao, 58.

CHIMNA APA, son of Rughoonath Rao and brother of the second Bajee Rao Peshwa, 75—attempted to be set up by Nanha Phurnuvees instead of his elder brother, 89.

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CHIMNA BHAO, an officer of Juswunt Rao Holkur, 122, 123—in the battle of Poona, 167—employed at Bhurtpoor, 248—consulted about the Ameer's opposition to the peace with the British, 281—employed against Bheels, with secret commission to get rid of Kashee Rao Holkur, 363—executes it and is received with honor, 364—employed in the ministry on Juswunt Rao falling insane, 366.

CLOSE, Colonel Sir Barry, Resident at Poona when occupied by Juswunt Rao Holkur, 176—concludes the treaty of Bassein with Bajee Rao, 180—commands a British army that marches from Jalna to Seronj against the Ameer, 385—gives up further pursuit, 388.

D.

DARA SHAH KHAN, Rusaladar of the Ameer, 305, 372, 377, 382—concerned in a mutiny, 402—favored in a settlement with Jypoor, 405—detached into Mewar, 406—killed in action at Kudumgurhee, 412.

DAWES, Captain, commands a brigade of Doulut Rao Sindheea, 153—employed against the Ameer in Kandes, 159—killed at the battle of Poona, 173.

DEBOIGNE, BENOIT, refuses to entertain the Ameer, 14—his rise in Mahajee Sindheea's service and employments, 79, 81, 86.

DEEG, battle of, 228—captured by the English, 230—restored by treaty to the Bhurtpoor Raja, 267.

DHOKUL SINGH, alleged posthumous son of Raja Bheem Singh, of Joudhpoor, 311—his cause espoused by the Jypoor Raja, 312—carried off from Nagor after Siwaee Singh's assassination, 360.

DHURMAN CHELA, raised to command in Holkur's army by the Ameer, 366—usurps the entire authority, 386—the Ameer takes the field against him, 390—delivered up by his troops, 394—and put to death, 395.

DONKIN, Major-General Sir Rufane, advances with an English division from Agra to Kota, 463.

DOONDEE KHAN, Zumeendar of Kumona, in the Dooab, under siege, relieved by the Ameer, 251—re-visited by him on return, 261—on expulsion by the British obtains Hindoun from the Ameer, 414—ejected again on settlement with Jypoor, 422.

DOORJUN SAL KEECHHEE, in possession of Seronj, 29—an outlaw with Raja Jysingh, 30, 31—quarrel, 33—and reconciliation with him, 35—friendly towards Mohummud Shah Khan, when dismissed by Ambajee Inglia, 238—Namdar Khan, Kureem

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Khan Pindara's lieutenant, made over to him by Ameer Khan, 410.

DOULUT RAO SINDHEEA, his accession, 87—intrigues against Nanha Phurnuvees, 89—ruins and imprisons him, 90—attacks and kills Mulhar Rao Holkur, 90, 91—proceedings against the Baees and Lukhwa Dada, 126 to 132—sends a force against Juswunt Rao Holkur, 134—follows, 140—and drives him out of Malwa, 140 to 150—marches into the Dukhun after him, 184, 190—settles his differences with Holkur, 192—defeated by General Wellesley, 194 to 196—makes peace with the English, 197—advances towards Bhurtpoor to join Holkur, 267—aids in extorting money from Ambajee Inglia, 270—further treaty with Lord Lake, 273—ejects the Jypoor troops from Oodeepoor, 297—his armies join Raja Jugut Singh against Joudhpoor, 312—jealous of the Ameer's being engaged by the former, 319—orders succour to the Ghoosla when pressed by the Ameer, 385—retires to Gwalior, 395, 396.

DUDRENEC, Chevalier, (called Hujur Beg) serving at Muheshur, opposes Holkur's and Ameer Khan's designs thereon, 99—his detachment defeated at Kusrod Ghat, 100—abandons Muheshur, 101—advances to recover it, 104—defeats Juswunt Rao, 105—reduced for want of supplies, 109—takes service with Juswunt Rao, 110—and is sent to Tonk, 111.

DURVESHES, Anecdotes of, 10, 23, 27.

DUTTEA, Raja, (Chhutursal) receives Lukhwa Dada when pressed by Ambajee and Monsieur Perron, 131—killed in the siege of Seonda which ensues, 132.

E.

EESHUREE SINGH, Raja of Jypoor, his accession, 58—opposed by his brother Madhoo Singh, and the Mahrattas, 59—poisons Keshoo Rao, is deposed, and himself swallows poison, 60.

EETHUL RAO, or Eetajee, full brother of Juswunt Rao Holkur, 90—his death, 174—(Note).

ELPHINSTONE, the Honorable Mountstuart, opposed to Bajee Rao at Poona, 464—effects his downfall, 470.

F.

FILOZE, Colonel Michael, an officer in the service of Mahajee Sindheea with Doulut Rao, in the operations against General Wellesley, 193—*see Baptiste.*

FRASER, GENERAL, defeats Hurnath Chela at Deeg, 228, 229—is killed in the battle, 230.

FURUKHABAD, Ahmed Khan Bungush, Nuwab of, his quarrel with the Lukhnou Nuwab, 60—Mulhar Rao Holkur called in,

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expels and makes terms with the Chiefs, 61—Juswunt Rao Holkur entertained by the Nuwab, 226—surprised there by Lord Lake, 227.

FUTEH SINGH MANEEA, an officer of Juswunt Rao Holkur, successful against Bajee Rao Peshwa's troops, 160—(Note) commands the infantry at the battle of Poona, 165, 167—detected intriguing, and seized by the Ameer's order, 185.

FYZOOLLA KHAN BUNGUSH, an Afghan Officer in the Bhopal service, 23—sent by Ameer Khan against Bhilsa, 199—his troops desert to Baptiste, 211—takes a farm of Bhilsa, 234—with the Ameer in the Rohilkhund expedition, 253 254—urges a return to Bhurtpoor, 261—further services, 408—farms the revenues of Sambhur, &c. 433, 453—goes over to the English, 463.

G.

GALNA—Kashee Rao Holkur confined there, 119.

GHOLAM KADIR KHAN, son of Zæbeta Khan, his rise, 79—joins Ismael Beg and Ranu Khan, Sindheea's General, at Koomper, 80—defeated, flies to Dehlee, and is received by the king, 80—discovers a correspondence with Mahajee Sindheea and puts out the King's eyes, 81—driven out of Dehlee by Mahajee's troops, flies to Meeruth, 82—is seized and executed, 83.

GHOLAMEE KHAN, an officer of Ameer Khan's, employed to ascertain Juswunt Rao Holkur's condition, 95—advises breach of faith with Ubhajee, of Sagur, 115—left in command of the Ameer's troops, and defeated by Lukhwa Dada, 129—a channel for overtures from the Nizam, 187—employed by the Ameer as agent in Holkur's camp, 204—detached with a separate command into Kool, 220—intrigues to supplant the Ameer, 234—sent to make submissions to him, 240—brings message from Raja Man Singh to the Ameer, 318—again, 323.

GHOOSLA, or Bhoosla—see Rughoojee.

GHOUS MOHUMMUD, son of Hyat Mohummud, Nuwab of Bhopal, obtains the rule on Chhotee Khan's death, 20, 21—slights the Ameer and Raee Himmut Raee, 22—courts the Ameer and sends him to relieve Hoshungabad, 24—Mooreed Mohummud's intrigue against him, 26, 27—succeeds, and he is imprisoned, 29.

GHUFOOR KHAN, called also Mohummud Ghufoor Khan, an officer of the Ameer, 360, 363—created Nuwab Iftukhar-ood-Doula, and left as the Ameer's agent in Holkur's camp, 366—rejoins the Ameer, being turned away by Dhurman Chela, 390—left to manage the Jageer conferred by the Baee on the Ameer's son, 395—Kureem Khan placed under a guard of his troops, 410—his intrigues in the Holkur camp, 472, 473—

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makes terms for himself with the English, and obtains Vuzeer-ood-Doula's Jageer, 474, 475—his conduct in the battle of Muhedpoor, 477.

GOLEE KHAN, a chief of the Bhopal family, 42—associated with Vuzeer Mohummud, 43.

GUJA KOONWUR, ex-Chief of Shujaelpoor, intrigues against Ameer Khan at Holkur's Durbar, 121—breeds ill-will between the chiefs, 122, 123—insults the Ameer in Durbar, 124.

GUNPUT RAO made Dewan upon Juswunt Rao Holkur's insanity being declared, 366—seized by mutineers, 471—Toolsee Baee betrays her affection for him, and procures his release, 372—seized and confined by the troops before the battle of Muhedpoor, 476.

H.

HARDING, Captain, commands Holkur's infantry at the battle of Poona, 164—(Note).

HESSING, Major, an officer in Doulut Rao Sindheea's service, 134—sent against Juswunt Rao Holkur, 135—is defeated, 137, 138—surrenders Agra to Lord Lake, 203—(Note).

HOLKUR—rise of the first of the family, 53—*See Mulhar Rao, Tukoojee, Kashee Rao, Juswunt Rao, &c. &c.*

HOSHUNGABAD besieged by Nagpoor troops, 24—Ameer sent from Bhopal to relieve the place, 24—gets into the town, 25—surrendered nevertheless, 26.

HURNATH CHELA, an officer of Juswunt Rao Holkur, 122, 142—detached in command of the infantry to Deeg, while Holkur ravages the Dooab, 225—defeated by General Fraser there, 228 to 230.

HYAT MOHUMMUD KHAN, Nuwab of Bhopal, 20—his son rules in his name, 20 to 24—his Begum's ascendancy, 26—intrigues to restore him to power, 42—Ameer Khan rules in his name, 48—transfers him to Vuzeer Mohummud, 48, 49.

I.

INCHORKUR, (called Vinshorkur) a Mahratta Jageerdar of Kandes, defeated by the Ameer, 153.

INDOR, granted by the first Bajee Rao to Mulhar Rao Holkur, 57—Juswunt Rao Holkur defeated there, 142, 143.

INDURAJ, Singee, Bukhshee of Joudhpoor, 317—surrenders the city, and raises the country towards Ajmeer against the

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Jypoor Raja, 318—joins Ameer Khan on his breaking with that Raja, 325—his plans, 328—meets Ameer Khan after his victory of Madhoorajpoor, 339—urges attack of the Jypoor army on its retreat, 343—made Dewan of Joudhpoor, 344—Raja Man Singh dissatisfied with him, 414—brings aid to the Ameer and negociates peace with Jypoor, 421, 422—negociates for evacuation of Meertha, 431—intrigues against him at Joudhpoor, 433—the Ameer plots his ruin, 435, 436—causes him to be assassinated, 437 to 440.

INGLIA—*see Ambajee and Bala Rao.*

ISMAEL BEG KHAN, in league with Joudhpoor, 14—joined by the Ameer, 15—his rise, 76, 78—connected with Gholam Kadir, 80—makes separate terms with Mahajee Sindheea, 82.

J.

JATS—*see Bhurtpoor.*

JEEWA DADA, an Officer of Mahajee Sindheea, employed against Gholam Kadir, 81—left to administer affairs in Hindoostan, 86—in the action at Lakheree with Tukoojee Holkur, 87.

JHANSEE threatened by the Ameer, but saved by Bala Rao Inglia, 119.

JONES, Major-General, commands the Bombay army, sent into Hindoostan, 237—joins Lord Lake, 264—commands a storm at Bhurtpoor, 265—cantoned at Tonk and Rampoora, 273.

JONES, Captain, beats off the Ameer near Kalpee, 209.

JOUDHPOOR, affairs of, 66, 85, 296, 315, 456, 460—the Ameer takes service there, 14—Jyapa Sindheea's expedition against it, 66—besieged by Raja Jugut Singh, of Jypoor, 317—Ameer Khan's journeys thither, 315, 344, 360, 412, 434—see Man Singh.

JUBULPOOR occupied by the Ameer, 372—abandoned, 375.

JUGUT SINGH, Raja of Jypoor, enamoured of the Oodeepoor Princess, 296—receives the Ameer and settles for the Holkur tribute, 300—declares war against Raja Man Singh, of Joudhpoor, on account of the Princess, 304—takes the field with an immense army, 312—Man Singh retires before him, 315—invests Joudhpoor, 317—takes the city and lays siege to the fort, 318—slights the Ameer who separates his troops, 321—detaches a force after him, 325—on its defeat breaks up from Joudhpoor, 341—and retires precipitately to Jypoor, 343—conduct at the siege and bombardment of his capital, 451, 452.

JUMSHEED KHAN, Rusaladar of Afghans, in the Ameer's service, 157—conduct at the battle of Poona, 168, 169—serves with

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the Ameer in Bundelkhund, 205—and at Bhurtpoor, 243—and in Rohilkhund, 256, 257—escapes thence with him, 261—engaged in a mutiny at Joudhpoor, 314—again, and quits the Ameer's service, 346—serves under him in the expedition against Nagpoor, 372—negociates with Sidq Ulee Khan, 373—insubordinate conduct, 374—left in command in Mewar, 401—mutinies against Mohummud Shah Khan, 407—employed in the Shekhawatee country, 431—worsted there, 443—succoured by the Ameer, 444—employed in the siege of Jypoor, 448, 450—ditto of Madhoorajpoor, 458—asserts independence, and refuses his guns to the British, 469—yields on compulsion, 470.

JUNKOOJEE SINDHEEA, his rise, 53, 54—*(see Note at page 53)* killed at Panceput, 63.

JUSWUNT RAO HOLKUR, natural son of Tukoojee Holkur, 90—escapes from the attack of Mulhar Rao, but is seized and confined at Nagpoor, 91—escapes, 93—first adventures, 94, 95—joined by Ameer Khan, 97—operations to the taking of Muheshur, 97 to 102—driven out again, 105 to 108—Dudreneo comes over and restores it, 109—loses an eye, 110—hears of the Ameer's defeat at Sagur, 113—conceives jealousy of him, 121—meditates treachery against him, 122, 123—reconciliation, 125—circumvents, 127—and plunders Mahajee's widows, 128—acts against Lukhwa Dada who gives them refuge, 130—defeats Major Hessing and Bulwunt Rao Batkura at Oojein, 136, 138—is defeated at Indor, 142, 144—and driven out of Malwa, 150—enters Kandes, 152—march on Poona, 152—gains the battle of Poona, 162 to 172—retires from Poona, 184—settles his quarrel with Sindheea, 192—marches towards Hindoostan, 202, 212—surprises Captain Lucan, 215—and surrounds and harasses Colonel Monson's retreat, 217 to 221—harasses Lord Lake's march to Dehlee, 223 to 225—incursion into the Dooab, 226—routed at Futehgurh, 227—retires to Bhurtpoor, 231—gets away with loss on the Raja's making terms with Lord Lake, 268—extorts money from Ambajee Inglia, 270—moves towards the Punjab, 275—deceives the Puteeala Raja, 276—intrigues at Lahor, 277—signs peace with the English, 280 to 285—ill-treated by mutineers, 289—suspicions and designs against the Ameer, 292—intrigues at Pookur, 300—poisons Khundee Rao, 307—interview with the Ameer, 308—puts to death Kashee Rao, 364—falls insane, 365—his death, 406.

JUWAHUR SINGH, Raja of Bhurtpoor, son and successor of Sooruj Mul, 64—aided by Mulhar Rao Holkur, takes Agra, 65.

JYAPA SINDHEEA, son of Ranojee, attacks Joudhpoor, 66—assassinated by Raja Bijye Singh, 67—*(see Notes at pages 53 and 66, for doubts as to his parentage)*.

JYPOOR—Eeshuree Singh succeeds Siwaee Jysingh as Raja, 58—Madhoo Singh calls in the Mahrattas, 59—and succeeds on

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Ecshuree Singh's taking poison, 60—Purtab Singh Raja, 77—defeats Mahajee Sindheea, 78—ill-will against the Rathors, 84—its tribute, the cause of quarrel between Tukoojee Holkur and Sindheea's Officers, 86, 87—war of Jypoor with Joudhpoor about the Oodeepoor Princess, 304 to 344—Ameer Khan's concern with, 338, 405, 415, 419, 422, 429, 448—besieged and bombarded by him, 448 to 453—Raja Jugut Singh succeeded by a posthumous son, 484.

JYSINGH KEECHHEE, Raja of Raghoogurh, an exile, living by plunder, 30—joined by Ameer Khan, their adventures, 31 to 35—makes terms with Bala Rao Inglia, 35—treacherous conduct towards the Ameer, 36.

K.

KALPEE plundered by the Ameer, 208.

KASHEE RAO HOLKUR, eldest son of Tukoojee, succeeds his father as head of the family, 90—with Doulut Rao Sindheea's aid surprises and kills his brother Mulhar Rao, 91—deserted by his troops, and imprisoned by Juswunt Rao, 119—put to death, 364.

KESHOO RAO KHUTREE, agent of the Oodeepoor Rana, with Mulhar Rao Holkur, 59—poisoned by Ecshuree Singh, of Jypoor, 59.

KHETREE, in the Shekhawatee Country, Ameer Khan serves Raja Bhag Singh there, 14.

KHUNDEE RAO HOLKUR, son of Mulhar Rao, killed at Koomher, 64—his widow Ahleea Baee adopts Tukoojee Holkur, 68.

KHUNDEE RAO HOLKUR, son of Mulhar Rao, killed at Poona, a child sent to Aseergurh, 91—Juswunt Rao procures his release, 191—taken as a hostage by mutineers, 290—poisoned by Juswunt Rao, 307.

KHYRAT MUSEEH, of European descent, in the Jypoor service, 336—carries off his corps unbroken at the battle of Madhoorajpoor, 337.

KISHEN KOOMAREE, Princess of Oodeepoor, sought in marriage by the Rajas of Joudhpoor and Jypoor, 295, 296—Ameer Khan advises her father to put her to death, 399—heroic conduct in taking poison, 400.

KUREEM KHAN PINDARA serves with the armies of Doulut Rao Sindheea, 140, 147—detached with Sudasheeo Rao into the Dukhun, 150—collects troops, is defeated and takes refuge with Ameer Khan, 407—committed to Ghufoor Khan's custody at Bhanpoora, 410—escapes from the defeat at Muhedpoor, 478—submits and accepts a Jageer in Gourukpoor, 478.

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KURUM DEEN KHAN, the Ameer's half brother, joins him, 19—exerts himself to defend the Ameer against the Keechhees, 36—sent to Bhopal to recruit, 39—effects the passage of the Nurbuda, 98—left with Juswunt Rao Holkur, while the Ameer proceeds against Sagur, 112—brings timely succour after the Ameer's defeat by the Nagpoor army, 118—punishes the mutinous Afghans, 118—killed in attempting to save Shujaelpoor from pillage, 120.

L.

LAKE, General, Lord, takes the field in Hindoostan, his successes, 202, 203—marches against Juswunt Rao Holkur, 212—halts at Lal-Sonth, sending on Colonel Monson, 213—again advances to repair the disasters of his retreat, 222—his march from Agra to Dehlee, 223 and 224—pursues Holkur into the Dooab, 226—surprises him at Futehgurh, 227, 228—marches to Deeg, 230—captures it and proceeds to Bhurtpoor, 230, 233—makes offers to Ameer Khan, 235—fails in the storm of Bhurtpoor, 240, 242—operations before the place, 249—joined by General Jones and fresh storm resolved upon, 264—fails, 265—makes terms with the Raja, 266, 267—dispositions afterwards, 273—follows Holkur to the Punjab, 278—concludes peace with him, 282.

LAKHEREE GHAT, defeat of Tukoojee Holkur there, in 1793, 87.

LUCAN, CAPTAIN, commanding a corps of British irregular horse, employed with Colonel Monson, 213—attacked and killed by Juswunt Rao Holkur, 216, 217.

LUCHHMUN RAO, Jageerdar of Muheeputpoor, sent against the Keechhee outlaws, 30—defeated and slain, 31.

LUKHWA DADA, Ameer Khan's first adventure with him, 27—employed with him, 27—employed against Gholam Kadir by Mahajee Sindheea, 81—engaged in the affair with Tukoojee Holkur at Lakheree, 87—takes part with the Baees of Mahajee Sindheea against Doulut Rao, 128—defeats Ameer Khan's army, 129—besieged in Shahjehanpoor by the Ameer, Holkur, and Ambajee Inglia, 130—allowed by the first named to escape, 131—flies to Seonda in Duttea, 132—is besieged there by Ambajee and Perron, 132.

M.

MADHOORAJPOOR, in the Jypoor territory, besieged by Ameer Khan for nine months, 458 to 461.

MADHOO RAO PESHWA, second son of Balajee the second, succeeds his father, 65—his death, 68.

MADHOO RAO NURAYUN, posthumous son of Nurayun Rao, 74—made Peshwa, 74—makes war on the Nizam, 88—his death, 89.

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MADHOO SINGH, Raja of Jypoor, disputes the succession with Eeshuree Singh, 59—raised to the Musnud by Mulhar Rao Holkur, 60—ejects Holkur's garrison from Tonk, 65—again, 67.

MAHAJEE SINDHEEA, natural son of Ranojee, succeeds as head of the family by support of Nanha Phurnuvees, 68—sent against Puthurgurh, 69—subdues the party of Manajee Phatkura, 72—makes peace with the English, 75—recovers Gwalior and Gohud, 76—invited to Hindoostan, 77—fails against Jypoor, 78—further reverses, 79—resumes the offensive, 80—sends a force to Dehlee against Gholam Kadir, 81, 82—subdues and executes him, 83—sends DeBoigne against Joudhpoor, 85—and recovers Ajmeer, 85—returns to the Dukhun and dies there, 87.

MALCOLM, General Sir John, advances with Sir Thomas Hislop, against Holkur's Troops, 463—intrigues with Ghufoor Khan, 474—gains the battle of Mahedpoor, 477—makes peace with Holkur 478.

MAN SINGH, Raja of Joudhpoor, claims the hand of the Oodeepoor Princess, betrothed to his predecessor in the Raj, 295—the Rana promises her to the Jypoor Raja, 296—enmity of the rival Chiefs, their measures and intrigues, 297, 298—his interview with Holkur, whose family he had received during the English war, 299—war declared between Jypoor and Joudhpoor, 304—Man Singh tries to gain Ameer Khan, 306, 307—deserted by his army at Purbutsir, 314—flies to Joudhpoor, 315—retires to the fort and stands a siege, 318—gains the Ameer, 323—is relieved by his victory at Madhoorajpoor, 344—quells a meeting of the Ameer's troops, 346—interview with the Ameer after Siwaee Singh's assassination, 361—fresh terms adjusted with the Ameer, 401—reception of the Ameer, 413—negociations for peace with Jypoor commenced, 421—concluded, and interview of Man Singh with Raja Jugut Singh, 423—Intrigues of Koonwur Chhutur Singh, &c. against him, 433—retires from affairs on the assassination of Singee Induraj and his Georoo, 440.

MANAJEE PHATKURA, said to be legitimate heir of the Sindheeas, 68—supported by Rughoonath Peshwa, 71—his party defeated by Mahajee, 72.

MARH, in the Konkun, Bajee Rao, retires thither after the battle of Poona, 175—surrendered to Ameer Khan, 179.

MEERZA SABIR BEG commands a corps in the Jypoor service, 333, wounded in personal combat with the Ameer, 334, 335.

MEHTAB KHAN, Colonel, commands a brigade of Ameer Khan's, 331, 332, 414, 415, 433, employed in Shekhawatee, 419, 420—receives the title of Roshun-ood-Doula, 455—attacked by Hunwunt Singh Chela, defeats him, 446—employed against

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Jypoor, 449—stationed at Hindoun, 455—his guns surrendered and the brigade disbanded, 468.

METCALFE, Mr. now Sir C. T., with General Smith, in Rohilkhund, 254—deputed to the Camp of Juswunt Rao Holkur by Lord Lake, 284—retires satisfied, 288—concludes Treaty at Dehlee with the Ameer's agent, 463—alleged further promises and assurances, 466—receives with attention the Ameer's son, 481—succeeded in office by Sir D. Ochterlony, 482.

MISUR SHEEONURAYUN, ex-minister of Jypoor, intrigues to restore him, 421—summoned by the Ameer on account of Nuzurana promised, 428—settles the claim, 429.

MOHUMMUD AYAZ KHAN, Rusaladar in the Jypoor service, Ameer Khan marries his daughter, 301—sent to negociate with the Ameer, 330—gets a Jageer from Raja Man Singh, 347—his tent resorted to by assassins, 354—employed in Kooroo, 363—disagrees with Colonel Mohun Singh, and comes to the Ameer to complain, 396—appointed to command Mohun Singh's Brigade, 409—employed against Jypoor, 410—attempt on his life at Kishengurh, 415.

MOHUMMUD SHAH KHAN, a Puthan Soldier, his first promotion, 112—further confidential employ, 120—sent to dig for treasure, 154—created Colonel and placed in command of a Brigade, 180—left at Koorwaee Bhourasa while the Ameer invades Bundelkhund, 204—rejoined by the Ameer, 210—placed with a Brigade and the Ameer's family in charge at Ambajee Inglia's disposal, 237—obliged to shift for himself, 238—dismissed from Doulut Rao Sindheea's service, 273—sent by the Ameer to Seronj, 275—summoned to take part in operations against Jypoor, 321—battle of Madhoorajpoor, 332 to 357—employed to inveigle Siwaee Singh, 352—gives his oath against treachery being intended, 353—brings Siwaee Singh to the interview at which he is assassinated, 357, 358—re-called from Joudhpoor, 401—releases Ameer Khan from Dhurna, 405—is himself subjected to it, 407—besieges Lawa, 406, 410—worsted and shut up in the fort of Tonk by Chand Singh, 415—relieved, 416—detached in command at Hindoun, 419—opposes the Ameer's designs on Kabool and Sindh, 426—masters and occupies Meertha in Joudhpoor, 430—falls sick and dies, 432.

MOHUN SINGH, an officer of the Ameer's infantry, raised to the rank of Colonel, and left in command in Kooroo, 361—quarrels with Mohummud Ayaz Khan, and complains, 396—entertained by Raja Bishun Singh, of Boondee, 401—employed with the Ameer, 403, 404—the troops excited to mutiny against him, 408—resigns, his brigade given to Mohummud Ayaz Khan, 409.

MONSON, Colonel, sent by Lord Lake against Juswunt Rao Holkur, 212—advances into Kotah, 214—retires on Holkur's

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approach, 215—disasters of his retreat to Agra, 217 to 220—commands under General Fraser at the battle of Deeg, 229—(Note)..

Moonuwur Khan, a connexion of the Ameer by marriage, 321—appointed Amil of Seronj, 321—retires, but is surprised by Colonel Close, 388—superceded, and sent for to camp, his services there, 418, 419—re-appointed to Seronj, 440.

Moradabad occupied by the Ameer, 253—his proceedings there, 254, 258.

Mooreed Mohummud Khan obtains authority in Bhopal, 26, 28—invites Ameer Khan, 42—surrenders the forts to Bala Rao Inglia, 43—death, 44—(Note).

Moosheer-ool-Moolk, minister of the Nizam at Hydurabad, 186—his overture and intrigue with Ameer Khan, 187, 188.

Muhedpoor, battle of, 477, 478.

Muheshur granted to Mulhar Rao Holkur, 57—occupied by Juswunt Rao, 101—abandoned to Chevalier Dudrenec, 108—re-taken, 110—Juswunt Rao remains there, pending Sindheea's campaign against Sir A. Wellesley, 192, 198.

Mulhar Rao Holkur, his rise, 53—obtains Muheshur and Indor in Jageer, 57—acts against Jypoor, 59—ditto Furukhabad, 60, 61—escapes from the battle of Paneeput, 63—attacks Bhurtpoor and loses his son, 64—recovers Tonk, &c. from Jypoor, 65—again, 67—dies near Jaloun, in Bundelkhund, 68.

Munsoor Ulee Khan, of Lukhnou, opposes Bajee Rao's passage of the Jumna, 57—quarrels with the Nuwab of Furukhabad, 60—calls in Mulhar Rao Holkur, 61.

Murdun Singh, Raja of Gurrakota and Mundela, 235—joins the Ameer in operations against the Ghoosla, 370—pressed by Nagpoor troops, is succoured by the Ameer, 411.

N.

Nagoo Pundit, an officer of Holkur's, acts with the Ameer in Kandes, 155 to 158.

Namdar Khan Pindara enters the Jypoor service with Ameer Khan, 307—introduced by Ameer Khan to Doorjun Sal Keechbee, 409—and sent to act with him against Doulut Rao Sindheea, 410.

Nanha—name given to Balajee Peshwa, son of Bajee Rao, 58.

Nanha Phurnuvees, Dewan of Madhoo Rao Peshwa, continued in power after his death, 68—intrigues against Rughoonath

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Rao, 69—supports Mahajee Sindheea, 72—sets up a posthumous child of Nurayun Rao Peshwa, 73—and contrives the deposition of Rughoonath, 74, 75—supports Doulut Rao Sindheea as successor to Mahajee, 87—Bajee Rao intrigues against him, 89—and aided by Doulut Rao Sindheea, effects his ruin, 90.

NURAYUN RAO PESHWA, brother of Madhoo Rao, his accession opposed by Rughoonath Rao, his uncle, 68—supplants him, 69—assassinated, 70—his widow declared pregnant, 73.

NURUNJUN LAL, Ameer Khan's Vukeel at Dehlee, 462—concludes a preliminary treaty with the British Government, 463—confronted with Sir D. Ochterlony to prove further promises, 466.

O.

OCHTERLONY, MAJOR GENERAL Sir David, besieged at Dehlee by Holkur's army, 223—advances against the Ameer, 463—interview and delivery of the ratified treaty, 466—obtains the guns of the brigades, 468—reduces Jumsheed Khan to submission, 469—made Resident at Dehlee, 482—visits Ajmeer with the Ameer, 482—sends back the Ameer's son from Dehlee, 484—visit to Tonk, 485.

OODEEPOOR, MADHOO SINGH of Jypoor, finds refuge and support there against Eeshuree Singh, 59—Ambajee Inglia left Soobadar there by Mahajee Sindheea, 86.—*see Bheem Singh Muharana.*

OOJEIN conferred on Sindheea, 57—battle there gained by Juswunt Rao over Major Hessing, 137.

P.

PANEEPUT, great defeat of the Mahrattas there, 62, 63.

PERRON, GENERAL, an officer in Mahajee Sindheea's service, 86—employed by Doulut Rao against Lukhwa Dada, 131—yields Hindoostan to Lord Lake, 203.

PINDARAS employed by Doulut Rao Sindheea, 134, 140, 147—and by Juswunt Rao Holkur in their wars in Malwa, 149—Cheetoo and Kureem Khan sent with Suda Sheeo Rao into the Dukhun by the former, 153—a party accompany the Ameer into Bundelkhund, 206—with Holkur in Colonel Monson's retreat, 216—Kadir Bukhsh and Ramzan Khan accompany the Ameer to Bhurtpoor, 236—and into Rohilkhund, 256, 259—join the Ameer on the side of Jypoor, 307—join in the operations against Nagpoor, 369, 372—ravage the Ghoosla territories, 385—their activity in operations against Dhurman Chela, 391, 392.

POPHAM, (Major) his capture of Gwalior, 75.

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Poona, capital of the Mahratta empire, 52—battle of, gained by Juswunt Rao, 164 to 174—his proceedings there, 181—retaken for Bajee Rao by General Sir A. Wellesley, 186.

Puteeala, Raja and Ranee there quarrelling, 276—Holkur arrives and deceives both, 276.

Puthans, Afghans, when called so, 5—*see Afghans.*

R.

Raee Chund Dewan, of Jypoor, his views in commencing war with Joudhpoor, 311, 312—slights the Ameer, 319, advises retreat to Jypoor, 341—escapes with the Raja, 343.

Raee Data Ram, son of Raee Himmut Raee, enters the Ameer's service as Moonshee, 306—sent to Joudhpoor to realize Hoondees, 406—made over as a hostage to mutineers, 408—released by them and employed at Kota, 411, 412—left at Joudhpoor, 417—employed at Jypoor, 422—negociates a money payment on surrendering Hindoun, 428—also Misur Sheeonurayun's Nuzurana, 429—sent to Joudhpoor, 432—conversation with the Ameer, 436—again deputed to Joudhpoor for money, 456—succeeds in obtaining it, 460—deputed to Sir D. Ochterlony, 465—and to the Governor General 470—advises the Ameer to meet Sir David at Ajmeer, 482—remains as Agent to negociate, 483—settles for the Ameer's son's return with a pension, 484.

Raee Himmut Raee, ex-Dewan of Bhopal, 21—re-employed, resigns 22—imprisoned, escapes to Seronj, 29—joins Golee Khan, 42—employed at Bhursea, 44—sent as the Ameer's Vukeel with Holkur, 121—employed in settling terms with Holkur after his peace with the English, 282, 286—left as Agent at Jypoor, 301—sent to urge money claims against Raja Jugut Singh at Joudhpoor, 320, 322—Jageer conferred on him by Raja Man Singh, 347—employed to entice Siwaee Singh to the interview at which he was killed, 357—sent to Jypoor to realize claims, 363—falls sick at Joudhpoor, 417—his death mentioned, 422.

Raj Rana—*see Zalim Singh.*

Rohilkhund, birth place of the Ameer, 8, 9—his incursion into, 249 to 261.

Rughoojee Bhoosla, or Ghoosla, aids Rughoonath Rao in the attack of Nizam Ulee, 72—also Nurayun Rao, 88—returns to Nagpoor after the battle of Kurdla, 89—unites with Doulut Rao Sindheea and marches towards the Dukhun against Holkur, 184—embroiled with the English, 191—makes terms with Juswunt Rao, 192—his conduct at the battle of Assye, 195—ditto at Argam, 196—makes peace with the English, 197—Ameer Khan's expedition against him,

Digitized by Google

369, 372,—military operations, 373 to 382—succoured by his allies, 386.

RUGHOONATH RAO, brother of Balajee Peshwa and son of Bajee Rao, 58—aims at the Musnud on the death of Madhoo Rao Peshwa, 68—proceeds against Hindoostan, 69—finds his nephew established by Nanha Phurnuvees, 69—the nephew assassinated in his presence, 70—made Peshwa, proceeds against Nizam Ulee Khan of Hyderabad, 72—is superceded by a posthumous son of his nephew, 73—a state prisoner at Dhoorup, 74.

S.

SALEH MOHUMMUD KHAN, nephew (sister's son) of the Ameer promoted to Kurum Deen Khan's command, 120—remounts his uncle at the battle of Indor, 143—engaged in the surprize of the British detachment near Koonch, 205.

SAOO RAJA, grandson of Sevajee, the captive of Aurungzeeb, 31—released and made Raja of all the Mahrattas, 52—resigns the management of affairs to Balajee Pundit, first Peshwa, 53—orders the invasion of Hindoostan by Bajee Rao, 55.

SERONJ assigned by Holkur to the Ameer, 103—occupied by the Ameer's Amil, 113—the Ameer spends the rains there, 119.

SHAM RAO MAREE, an officer of Juswunt Rao Holkur, 98, 100, 106—exerts himself to prevent an outrage in the Durbar, 124—brings over Dudrenec's brigade, 147.

SHEEOLAL BUKHSHEE, a commander of Jypoor troops, 316—employed against the Ameer, 326, 329—defeated at Madhoorajpoor, 333 to 337.

SHEEONATH SINGH, Chief of Kochawun under Joudhpoor, 317—joins Ameer Khan in operations against Sheeolal Bukhshee of Jypoor, 328—takes part in the battle of Madhoorajpoor, 332, 336.

SHEPHERD, Colonel James, opposed to the Ameer in Bundelkhund, 199, 200, 210.

SHUJAELPOOR, the Ameer entertained there, 39—taken by Bala Rao Inglia, 41—first meeting of Ameer Khan and Juswunt Rao there, 96—pillaged by the Ameer, his brother being killed there, 120.

SHUMSHEER BUHADUR surrenders to Ameer Khan, 179.

SIDQ ULEE KHAN, officer of the Ghoosla, 373—opposed to the Ameer, 374—worsts him, 376—again, 382—is surrounded and reduced to straights, 385.

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SINDHEEA, rise of the first of the name, 54—*vide Junkoojee, Jyapa, Mahajee, Doulut Rao.*

SINGEE INDURAJ,—*see Induraj.*

SIWAEE SINGH, of Phookurun, tributary to Joudhpoor, excites Raja Man Singh to claim the Oodeepoor Princess, 297, 303—his treachery, 304—joins the Jypoor Raja, 312—slights the Ameer, 320—thwarts his intrigue with Bapoo Sindheea, 327—deserted by Raja Jugut Singh, 342—intrigue of the Ameer to circumvent him, 348, 352—meeting arranged under oaths, 353—plots and counterplots, 354 to 356—massacred with his suite, 359.

SKINNER, Colonel James, C. B. the authority for Captain DAWES being the officer sent with Suda Sheeo into the Dukhun, 163 (Note)—his part in the action with the Ameer at Afzulgurh, 256 (Note)—his brother's defence of a Suraee against Ameer Khan, 359—makes prize of the Ameer's baggage and Bazar, 260 (Note)—detached against Jumsheed Khan, 469, 470.

SMITH, Major General, sent after the Ameer into Rohilkhund, 251—pursues him, 254—overtakes and defeats him at Afzulgurh, 257—again routs him, 260.

SOBHA RAM, an officer of Holkur, associated with Dhurman Chela, 366—put to death along with him, 395.

SOORAT—the Ameer arrives there in distress, 15—adventure there, 16, 17, 18.

SOORUJ MUL JAT, Raja of Bhurtpoor, 61—is killed before Dehlee, 62.

STEVENSON, Colonel, commands under General Wellesley in the Dukhun, 193, 197.

SUDA SHEEO RAO, an officer of Doulut Rao Sindheea, 139—employed against Holkur, 140 to 144—detached after him into Kandes, 153—his affairs with Ameer Khan, 156 to 159—marches for the defence of Poona, 162—defeated there, 166 to 170.

SUDA SHEEO RAO BHAO, adopted son of Chimna Apa, Bajee Rao's brother, 58—commands the grand Mahratta expedition into Hindoostan, 61—killed at Paneeput, 63.

SUMBHA, son of Sevajee, Raja of the Mahrattas, captured by Aurungzeeb, and put to death, 51.

SUNTA, a Chief of Mahrattas, 52—*see Note.*

SURJEE RAO GHATKEA, father-in-law and minister of Doulut Rao Sindheea, his cruelties, 126 (Note)—commands against Holkur,

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139 to 141—gains the battle of Indor, 143, 144—advances to join Holkur at Bhurtpoor, 268—intrigues with the Ameer at Joudhpoor, 324—leaves the Jypoor camp with him, 325—party to his subsequent proceedings, 329—in the battle of Madhoorajpoor, 333.

T.

TALOOT, (Saul) the ancestor of the Afghans, 2, 4.

TANTEEA JOG, employed in a subordinate capacity in the ministry formed on Juswunt Rao Holkur falling insane, 366—employed by Toolsee Baee to seize Bala Ram Seth, 472—seized by the troops, 476.

TANTEEA ALEEKUR, an officer of Juswunt Rao's court, 184—flies to Kota on an attempt to seize him, 471.

TOOLSEE BAEE, widow of Juswunt Rao Holkur, applies to Ameer Khan for relief from Dhurman Chela, 386—disavows the Chela to the troops, who imprison and put him to death, 394, 395—poisons Meena Baee, 471—betrays her love for Gunput Rao, and puts to death Bala Ram Seth, 472—deserted by the infantry battalions and Ghufoor Khan, 473—reconciliation, she declares for Bajee Rao, 474—marches to Muhedpoor, 475—put to death by Huree Holkur, 476.

TUKOOJEE HOLKUR, adopted by Ahleea Baee, as successor to Mulhar Rao, 68—associated in Mahajee Sindheea's operations in Hindoostan, 86—defeated by his Generals at Lakheree Ghat, 87—at the battle of Kurdla, in the Dukhun, 88—his death, 90.

U.

UMRIT RAO, adopted son of Rughoonath Rao, placed on the Peshwa's Guddee by Juswunt Rao Holkur, 175—demands of Holkur upon him, 176, 181—accepts a stipend from the British Government, further notice of him, 186—(Note).

V.

VUZEER MOHUMMUD, of Bhopal, his rise, 42, 43, 45—is worsted in action with Bala Rao Inglia, 46—the Ameer supplants, and then resigns in his favor, 48, 49—joins in the Ameer's expedition against the Nagpoor Raja, 380—dissuades from an attack on Sidq Ulee Khan which fails, 381—his conduct in the action, 383—Namdar Khan recommended to him by the Ameer, 410.

VUZEER-OOD-DOULA MOHUMMUD VUZEER KHAN, the title and name of Ameer Khan's eldest son, his birth, 339—sent for to Gurakota, 371—ditto to Oodeepoor, 397—Jageers conferred on him by Raja Man Singh, 347—by Toolsee Baee, 395—sent

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to Sheergurh, 404, 441—affianced to a daughter of Bapoo Sindheea, 456—required by the British Government to reside at Dehlee, 480—his reception there, 491, 492—returns pensioned, 484—his marriage celebrated, 485.

W.

WELLESLEY, General Sir A., now Duke of Wellington, advances on Poona after the treaty of Bassein, 181—occupies the city, 186—gains the battle of Assye, (Phoolmuree) 194—ditto of Argam, 196—concludes peace with Sindheea and the Ghoosla, 197.

WISWAS RAO, son of Balajee Peshwa, 58, 61—sent with Suda Sheeo Rao Bhao into Hindoostan, 62—killed at Paneeput, 63.

Y.

YOOSUF KHAN, Rusaladar in Nujuf Koolee Khan's service, receives the Ameer as Chela, 14—the Ameer leaves him, 15.

Z.

ZALIM SINGH, Raj-Rana of Kota, his ambiguous conduct towards Colonel Monson, 217—receives and gives refuge to Ameer Khan's family, 238—obtains his aid in expelling Pindaras, 271—his interviews with the Ameer, 306, 409—advises the seizure of Kureem Khan, 407—mediates a reconciliation of parties in Holkur's camp, 473.

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